Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-93-072 *16 April 1993*

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Deputies Endorse Bill on Return of Property

AU1504180093 Tirana ATA in English 0810 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 15 (ATA)—The draft law on the return and compensation of ex-owners' properties was under discussion at the People's Assembly. It recognizes, returns, and provides compensation for the properties nationalized, confiscated, and sequestered unjustly after November 29, 1944. This draft law returns the real property, which at the moment when this law is issued, are free territories or unchanged buildings. This draft law also foresees to return the properties to the ex-owners for the state needs and which have not be used for such a purpose.

Detailed provisions foresee the return and compensation for territories, which is implemented at any case for two hectares. Out of them one hectare is given back as territory in dwelling centers or touristic zones, the rest is compensated via other forms. The draft law foresees some forms of compensation, such as the state obligations which will be used for the privatization of state objects such as hotels, shops, workshops, production sections, etc. This law will not treat the properties of ex-King Zog and foreign and joint companies. The remarks of the association of ex- proprietors and international organizations are taken into consideration when drafting this law.

The Minister of Constructions Ilir Manushi answered several questions put by the deputies. After this, the deputies discussed the draft law in principle. Most of the speakers appreciated this draft-law and considered it significant to the development of the economic reform. They underlined that it will correct the injustices made to the ex-owners and will solve correctly the problem of foreign investments, that of employment, etc. The deputies of the Socialist Party [SP] underlined that the SP agrees with the correction of injustices, but it does not wish to create new problems. In this regard they demanded to conduct a referendum.

The draft law was voted upon and it was endorsed in principle by majority of votes. The deputies discussed this draft law article by article in the afternoon sitting.

Joint Agreement on Tourism Signed With Romania

AU1404200993 Tirana ATA in English 1017 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 14 (ATA)—On April 13, the agreement was signed in Tirana on cooperation in the field of tourism between Albania and Romania. The agreement was signed for the Romanian side by Ernest Ungureanu, secretary of state for tourism, and for the Albanian side by Edmond Spaho, minister of tourism.

The two sides underlined the great values of this agreement. It foresees to encourage the links between the Albanian-Romanian companies and the creation of some joint ventures. Also it foresees to exchange experts from the two parties, the inaugural of the exhibitions on the problems of tourism, etc.

Berisha Holds Talks With Macedonian Scholars

AU1604074993 Tirana ATA in English 1821 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 15 (ATA)—The President of the Republic Sali Berisha met the group of Albanian scholars from Kosova, Macedonia, and other territories of former Yugoslavia, who are taking part in the symposium "The Question of Kosova and the Albanians in Former Yugoslavia."

In this meeting, President Berisha said among others that "the history of Albania is at a difficult moment but it is still going on. The period we are in is dangerous, but greater possibilities exist. Ideological liberation is a great favour for the moment. We are now led by national ideology. For many years, Albania has been represented in the world in general by Kosova intellectuals excluding the writer Ismail Kadare who went ahead with his works. This happened because Tito has been a liberal Marxist-Leninist dictator. At these moments, if we shall realise to free borders between the divided nation we have realised a great percentage of the national ideal. Moreover, if democratic institutions are realised, we have again realised a great percentage of this ideal.

Regarding Macedonia, we decided to recognise it with a consensus among the political forces, because an independent Macedonia is better than a Macedonia under Milosevic. Macedonia cannot create a stable state without observing the rights of the Albanians in Macedonia."

Concerning the situation in Kosova, President Berisha said that "the situation there is rather difficult. If a massacre starts there, the situation will be out of control and the Albanians will defend themselves. But still, cool headedness should prevail because, to be realistic, a great victory has been attained."

Further on the delegation of the Albanian scholars explained to President Berisha the situation in Kosova and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, as well as many problems of the Albanian question.

Berov Briefs Danish Prime Minister in Copenhagen

AU1504161093 Sofia BTA in English 0702 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Copenhagen, April 15 (BTA)—Bulgarian Premier and Foreign Minister Lyuben Berov, who attended the conference on the economic development of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, met yesterday Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen who is president of the European Community. This meeting marked the beginning of the political consultations between Bulgaria and the European Community. Under the agreement on Bulgaria's association to the EC, the two sides are to establish political dialogue for exchanging opinions and information on the most important political issues and for coordinating their stands on them.

At yesterday's meeting Bulgaria set forth its stand on the Yugocrisis. Bulgaria is greatly concerned by the threat of the spreading of the hostilities there and calls all Balkan countries to refrain from direct military involvement in the Yugoconflict and to strictly observe the embargo against Serbia-Montenegro. Bulgaria also raised the question of a compensation of the losses it suffers as a result of the observation of the UN sanctions.

Prime Minister Lyuben Berov stressed the utmost care and attention with which the process of democratic changes in Russia should be followed and encouraged. He expressed Bulgaria's stand in support of the efforts of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and of the democratic institutions in Russia for continuing the process of the reform.

Bulgaria's Prime Minister acquainted the Danish foreign minister with the present political and economic situation in Bulgaria and its transition to democratic government and a modern market economy. He also raised the question of speeding up the procedure of the coming into force of the provisional agreement on the trade part of the agreement on Bulgaria's association to the European Community.

Prof. Lyuben Berov and Danish Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen discussed concrete possibilities for broadening and deepening Bulgarian-Danish relations. The two premiers signed an agreement on reciprocal investment protection and promotion. This is the first step in invigorating and activating economic exchange between Denmark and Bulgaria, Prof. Berov said after the signing of the agreement.

The Bulgarian prime minister also met with the President of the Folketing (the Danish parliament), Mr. Henning Rasmussen. Professor Berov showed interest in the relations between the Folketing and the government and the ways for exercising public control over their work.

At a meeting with Danish minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, Mr. Bjorn Westh, the two sides discussed concrete possibilities for applying Danish experience in the management of agriculture and in crediting farmers as well as for training Bulgarian experts in this field in Denmark.

Interviewed on Return from Copenhagen

AU1504180193 Sofia BTA in English 1453 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 15 (BTA)—There is a lot of theory and many generalities in the concluding document of the conference on the economic development of Central and Eastern Europe, but this is inevitable, given that 30 countries took part in that forum, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov said at the Sofia Airport returning from Copenhagen. Prof. Berov attended the conference in his capacity as acting foreign minister.

The Bulgarian prime minister considers the conclusion of the conference that the European community member-states and the countries newly associated with it have headed for common trade and future integration to be the concrete result of the conference.

Together with the other representatives of the East European countries, we made objections against the EC prohibiting the import of grain, livestock, meat, meat and milk products in connection with the alleged incidence of foot and mouth disease, Prof. Berov said. In his opinion, this may delay the initial reduction of customs duty provided for in the association agreements. The prime minister expressed his hope that the prohibition would be a temporary one. In reply to a question about his meeting with Denmark's Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen, Prof. Berov said that no recommendations had been made for Bulgaria's political and economic development at the talks.

EC Commissioner Van den Broek Arrives in Sofia

AU1504161993 Sofia BTA in English 0743 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 15 (BTA)—EC Commissioner Hans van den Broek arrived on a two-day visit to Sofia late last night. He will meet with President Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov and parliamentary committees. During the visit of the EC commissioner, the Bulgarian parliament is expected to ratify the association agreement between Bulgaria and the EC signed in Brussels on March 8 and the EC commission will open an office in Sofia.

The association agreement between Bulgaria and the EC was signed after long and painful negotiations. In October 1986 the Bulgarian Government and the EC Commission launched preliminary talks on the establishment of official relations and a conclusion of a trade and economic agreement. In August 1988 the sides exchanged notes on the establishment of official relations and in February 1989 the EC Council of Ministers mandated the commission to negotiate on the signing of

a treaty with Bulgaria. After two successful rounds, the EC suspended the talks in July 1989, in response to the campaign to deport Bulgarian Turks waged by Bulgaria's communist rulers. After the fall of the communist regime, the negotiations were resumed and the sides signed a trade and economic treaty in Brussels in may 1990. In December 1990 the Grand National Assembly passed a decision saying Bulgaria would like to join the EC as a full member. Following seven rounds of talks over two years, the association agreement was initialed in December 1992.

The association agreement opens European markets to Bulgarian goods, although it puts certain restrictions on Bulgarian ferrous metals, textiles and farm produce. Despite falling somewhat short of Bulgaria's expectations as to the export of wines, tobacco and cast iron, the agreement provides protection against a sudden inflow of imports, which could harm local producers. The agreement envisages a ten-year period of transition toward a free trade zone, establishment of constant political dialogue on different levels and considerable expansion of financial, scientific and technical and cultural cooperation. The document eases restrictions on the movement of capital and labour between Bulgaria and the twelve EC member countries.

The agreement will take force after being ratified by the parliaments of the twelve EC member states, but the part on trade takes effect in mid-1993.

Berov Denies Rumors of Disagreement With Zhelev

AU1504161693 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 9 Apr 93 p 5

[Second installment of interview with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov by Rayna Vulcheva; place and date not given: "The Prime Minister Is Not Carrying His Letter of Resignation in His Pocket"]

[Excerpts] [Vulcheva] On 20 February 1993 the daily TRUD published the results of a public opinion poll which revealed that people were expecting your government to combat organized crime, to halt the growing unemployment rate, and to accelerate the privatization process. Are there any reasons for telling those people that they shall be disappointed?

[Berov] We are willing to fulfill the aforementioned commitments, regarding organized crime in the first place. So far we were unable to adopt serious measures because the necessary legislation was missing. Nowadays, if you are a policeman you are obliged to wait until you are killed before taking self-defense measures. This is absolutely ridiculous. Under all circumstances, legal acts should be amended by the National Assembly, but as everyone knows, parliament's work is extremely slow. We marked 45 bills as priorities. Let us hope that they shall pass as soon as possible. The members of parliament promised to pass them by the end of 1993, but the way things are going they may not be adopted until the end of 1995.

You should understand that combating crime is not only a problem of legislation, but that stricter penalties are also required. It is also a financial problem to some extent, but we simply lack the necessary resources for the time being.

[Vulcheva] What would you say about privatization and the related unemployment?

[Berov] As far as privatization is concerned, some sort of legislation exists in this respect, but the problem is that there are few people willing to take over enterprises. This was shown by auctions of small and medium-size enterprises. Perhaps the possibility of avoiding official methods is one of the reason for this, resulting in a form of privatization which I would call "wild" [diva] privatization.

[Vulcheva] Do you think that our present legislation creates opportunities for "wild" privatization?

[Berov] Such opportunities exist, considering the recent tendency of liberally interpreting the laws. A second trend also exists, which has nothing to do with legislation, namely that a certain group of people, who have the opportunity of making high profits from various operations, or "coups" as they dare to call them, are not willing to purchase enterprises. [passage omitted]

[Vulcheva] There is a rumor which I cannot fail to mention, namely that some slight disagreement between you and the president has recently emerged. Is that true? Do any specific causes for a possible conflict between the Presidency and the Council of Ministers exist?

[Berov] My answer is brief: No, there is no such thing.

[Vulcheva] Thank God for that, as one would say in such cases. Mr. Berov, do you like your cabinet ministers? How do the attacks against some of them affect you? Particularly, I have Mr. Neev in mind, who was a target of criticism since the very beginning of the cabinet's term of office.

[Berov] You understand that the cabinet consists of individuals. I may like some more than others, but was your question specially related to Neev?

[Vulcheva] I was just trying to cite an example; You may skip the question, if you wish.

[Berov] Nobody is perfect on this planet, and I know nothing about other planets. Perhaps I am the least perfect of all.

[Vulcheva] Is there anyone, among your cabinet ministers, whom you would like to dismiss and who does not have the necessary professional qualifications and human qualities required for his post?

[Berov] No. The term lack of professional qualifications is somewhat strong. I would rather say that one may not be entirely satisfied with somebody's work.

[Vulcheva] What are your relations with the minister of internal affairs and the minister of defense?

[Berov] They are very good, to put it frankly, especially the minister of internal affairs. I have not come across any problem on which we do not share the same view.

[Vulcheva] I have another embarrassing question. It is related to the misgivings expressed here and there about your government having adopted a stance likely to open the door to the restoration of socialism. You have certainly read such comments?

[Berov] Excuse me, but where do you see any signs of recommunization or the restoration of the old regime? People are talking about mass dismissals. We dismissed no more than 5 to 10 officials. Some people are pretending that we almost slaughtered half of the nation. They are shouting: "Help, they are killing us all!" Let them say where they see a restoration of communism—in legislation or in personnel changes. [passage omitted]

[Vulcheva] What would you say about the peasants who are feeding us and are facing so many problems?

[Berov] I am planning to address the nation on television or write an article for the newspapers in a few days to say that we started the agrarian reform with great enthusiasm two years ago. However, our preliminary assessments were not very precise. I must admit it, because I also feel responsible. I shared the delusion that the whole task could be accomplished within one year or two. We destroyed an existing structure. One institution on which we relied in the past, the labor cooperative farms, no longer exists. The new structure, the private farmers or voluntary cooperatives, have not been created yet. [passage omitted]. We established a cooperative credit center with, of course, modest capital. However while we expected at least 100,000 if not 1,700,0000 applications for farming credits, only 5,300 requests were submitted. [passage omitted]

Constitutional Court Rejects Deputies' Petition

AU1504193693 Sofia BTA in English 1621 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 15 (BTA)—The Constitutional Court voted, ten to one, to reject a petition by 53 Socialist M.P.'s who challenged the constitutionality of the treaty on the transfer of convicted offenders between Bulgaria and Turkey, Mr. Nikolay Pavlov, member of the Constitutional Court and its spokesman, told a press briefing today. Ten judges decided that the treaty is consistent with the Constitution.

The treaty in question was signed in Ankara on June 22, 1992 by Turkish Justice Minister Mehmet Oktay and the former Bulgarian Justice Minister Svetoslav Luchnikov. The Bulgarian and the Turkish parliaments have yet to ratify the treaty. It will enter into force 30 days after the exchange of the instruments of ratification.

Basically, the treaty on the transfer of convicted offenders gives prisoners convicted in the other country the right to serve their custodial sentences in the prisons of their own country.

Macedonian Truck Spills Acid in Teteven

AU1504161893 Sofia BTA in English 0738 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, April 15 (BTA)—About four or five tonnes of hydrochloric acid spilt not far from a village in the Balkan range from a Macedonian tank truck, the National Radio reported this morning.

Late last night the driver of the tank truck with a Macedonian licence plate, carrying hydrochloric acid from the chemical plant in Devnya (near Varna) for Skopje, noticed a leak from a broken seam of the tank. He stopped near a village in the Teteven area (the Balkan range, central Bulgaria). Civil Defense teams have started clearing up the area but the leak has not been stopped.

Klaus Assesses Latest Meciar Demands

LD1504103693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0500 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Daniela Galikova, our correspondent to Prague, attended the press briefing by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus after the Czech Government session yesterday [14 April]. [passage omitted]

[Galikova] Vaclav Klaus merely touched upon the latest statement made by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on property division. This is what he said:

[Begin Klaus recording] As you know, I am not at all inclined to assess the Slovak prime minister's radio addresses. There are always great differences between speeches given either on the radio or at meetings and proper negotiations. I do not wish to pointlessly embark on assessing these individual pronouncements, either as a carrot for the future or as genuinely earnest and serious thoughts. These demands are absurd, of course, and so my analyzing and examining them in detail is unnecessary. [end recording]

Sees Possible Property Agreement

LD1604082193 Prague CTK in English 0639 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 16 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus thinks it possible for a Czech-Slovak agreement on dividing the former Czechoslovak Federation's property to be signed next week as indicated by the commission in charge of this issue at its session in Bratislava April 7.

Speaking on Czech television last night, Klaus said he was not quite sure whether the current political situation in Slovakia made possible a certain grand-minded approach which is inevitable in talks on property issues.

The date of April 23 is possible. It would require, however, a certain grand-mindedness, scope for manoeuvring, calm for a politician taking a historic step. He must feel certain grassroot support in his country. I am not sure whether such an atmosphere and such a situation exist in Slovakia, Klaus said.

At a meeting with citizens in Prague last night, Klaus said that the recently announced Slovak deficit in the first three months of 1993, which amounts to 13.5 billion crowns (450 million USD), will worsen Slovakia's position in talks with the Czech Republic on property settlement scheduled for April 23.

Klaus said the possibility that shares from last year's first wave of coupon privatisation would be speedily issued to Czech coupon holders, as suggested by the Czech Privatisation Ministry Thursday, has its drawbacks.

He noted that when coupon holders registered for the first privatisation wave at the beginning of last year, they did not state whether they were Czech or Slovak citizens since the privatisation was organised jointly on the whole territory of the former Czechoslovakia.

The date for issuing shares of Czech companies to coupon holders who gained them in the first privatisation wave was postponed at the beginning of April in view of problems concerning property division between the Czech and Slovak republics.

Havel, Kovac Discuss Property Division

LD1604111593 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1030 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Vaclav Havel and Michal Kovac, presidents of the Czech and Slovak Republics, had a long telephone discussion today about property settlement between the two republics. Czech presidential spokesman Ladislav Spacek said that after they clarified their positions, the two presidents expressed mutual understanding for the position of the other side and agreed to immediately inform both prime ministers about the outcome of their conversation.

Poland To Revoke Ban on Czech Meat Imports

LD1504111593 Prague CTK in English 1055 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 15 (CTK)—Poland will revoke its ban on the import of meat, livestock and dairy products from the Czech Republic on Friday, Polish Premier Hanna Suchocka informed Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus by telephone today.

Klaus' spokeswoman said the Czech premier welcomed the move as a positive contribution to cooperation between the countries of central Europe. The Polish ban was imposed last Saturday.

Baudys Favors Personnel Screening Within Army

AU1404195393 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 13 Apr 93 p 2

[CTK report: "According to Baudys, the Czech Army Is Still to Be Built"]

[Text] Prague—Defense Minister Baudys has spoken in favor of a "tougher" attitude in establishing the Army—as regards personnel. The existing Czech Army is, in his opinion, only a formal, two-third remnant of the federal army. "We still have to establish a real Czech Army," Minister Baudys said on television.

In this connection he added that "trustworthy people make up a trustworthy army." " I do not want to conduct purges, but we must verify what people are capable of, and how they meet their obligations," he said. The principal method of evaluation is people's qualifications, and their moral and physical qualities.

Antonin Baudys indicated, however, that a system that would eliminate formalism during screening has not been established as yet.

The defense minister stressed that the Czech Republic Army should be consistently oriented toward the defense of the

country and possible cooperation within an European defense alliance. He described NATO as "the only alliance that is functioning," and he added that it could become a pillar of the future European defense system. He said that as soon as there is a professional army established in the Czech Republic, it will be necessary to secure a system of civil defense, including a concept for territorial armies.

At the same time, the minister rejected a collective course of action of Central European countries in establishing armies and their reequipping. According to him, reequipping the Czech Army is out of question for the time being, mainly for financial reasons.

Bullying in the Army is mainly caused, according to Baudys, by the fact that officers and commissioned officers are not meeting their obligations.

Foreign Currency Reserves Reportedly Growing

LD1504225293 Prague CTK in English 2129 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 15 (CTK)—Foreign currency reserves of the Czech Republic have been sharply growing since the separation of the Czech and Slovak currencies in February, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told a meeting of about 5,000 people here today.

He added that the Czech National Bank has now higher reserves than the former Czechoslovakia (before its split into independent Czech and Slovak Republics).

Spokesman for the Czech National Bank Martin Svehla today said that the bank's foreign currency reserves had increased by 424 million USd since the beginning of the year.

Klaus rejected the Defence Ministry's recent demand for an additional 10 billion crowns on top of the army's current budget of 23 billion crowns (750 million USd).

He said the statement Tuesday by the Defence Ministry Foreign Relations department chief Jaromir Novotny that the army would lose its combat ability without additional money was slightly like blackmail.

First Round Talks With EC Conclude

LD1504152693 Prague CTK in English 1319 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Brussels/Prague April 15 (CTK correspondent)—Despite highly optimistic forecasts, the chief of the Czech mission to the European Community (EC) Pavel Telicka does not believe that the next month's round of association talks with EC would be the last one.

Speaking with CTK in Brussels today, Telicka summarised the first round of talks which ended yesterday. The association treaty would replace the agreement EC previously concluded with the now defunct Czechoslovak Federation.

Trade clauses' agreement was reached on Wednesday as were the rules to determine the origin of goods. Also, both sides concurred in the area of human and minorities rights, Telicka said.

The next round of negotiations will be held towards the end of May and it is unlikely that the rest of agenda would be covered, the negotiator concluded.

Only Fraction of KSC Funds Redistributed

AU1404140393 Prague CTK in English 1758 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 9 (CTK)—Some 40 million crowns (1.4 million USD) seized from the former Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSC) have so far been re-allocated, principally to the health-care sector, Jaromir Coufalik, from the Czech Economics Ministry's secretariat told CTK today.

Twenty million crowns (700,000 USD) have been used to purchase inhalators and other breathing equipment for children's hospitals in heavily polluted areas of northern Bohemia. Another 20 million crowns were distributed to humanitarian organizations which care for the elderly and handicapped, Coufalik said.

The former Federal Economics Ministry estimated KSC property in December 1989 to be worth 12.6 billion crowns (430 million USD), however, or 300 times the amount redistributed so far.

Amnesty Not Recommended for Communist Officials

AU1404140493 Prague CTK in English 1651 GMT 9 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 9 (CTK)— The on-going trial against Czechoslovakia's former communist Finance Ministers Leopold Ler and Jaromir Zak was postponed until May 4 today by Edita Beranova, chairwoman of the court where the proceedings are taking place.

The two former Communist Party officials are accused of having illegally funneled hard currency abroad in the 1970's and 80's, to aid foreign communist movements and organizations.

More witnesses are expected to testify when the trial resumes and a verdict is awaited at the end of May. If found guilty of abuse of power by a public official, Ler and Zak could face three to ten years in prison.

Czech Justice Minister Jiri Novak refused to recommend Ler, 67, for February's presidential amnesty. A ministry spokeswoman told CTK that under the amnesty, the Czech president may halt criminal proceedings against persons over 60 years of age upon the recommendation of the justice minister.

Criminal proceedings will also continue against Bohuslav Chnoupek, 67, Czechoslovakia's foreign minister from 1971 to 1988, and Jaroslav Krupauer, 67, former Czech prosecutor general from 1974 to 1989, as well as Jan Pjescak, 68, former Czechoslovak prosecutor general from 1988 to the 1989 velvet revolution. All three are charged with abuse of power by a public official.

Meciar Interviewed on Current Political Issues

AU1504180893 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Apr 93 pp 1, 9

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Pavol Minarik; place and date not given: "Slovakia Will Manage in a Difficult Situation"]

[Text] Slovakia's present economic situation, the government's relations with the opposition, the situation at the common [Czech-Slovak] border, and other current issues were discussed by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in an interview with RUDE PRAVO's correspondent.

[Minarik] The Slovak cabinet is preparing an updated policy statement for April. Will the government be seeking Parliament's trust again?

[Meciar] The question does not stand like that. [After the elections] We submitted a policy statement which Parliament accepted. The greater part of this policy statement has actually been fulfilled, even though it was drafted over a period of four years. Yet today we are facing new realities—the independent republic, and the state of the economy and the markets. These new realities determine the government's economic and social policies. The government must react to them in two directions. The first direction is represented by specific steps, the other by a broader outlook for the transformation process. The government naturally needs Parliament's approval for such measures. However, we are not going to submit this in the form of a new policy statement but rather as a supplement to the existing policy statement.

[Minarik] At the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Assembly in Trnava, you declared that, for the first time in its history, Slovakia has achieved, in the first months of its independent existence, a surplus in its balance of trade. How do you explain that?

[Meciar] First of all, the Czech side itself helped us when it threatened at the talks in Brno that for two to three years we would switch over to barter trade and then, perhaps, to a customs union. This prompted immediate activities on our part, a reorientation of the activities of enterprises, and such a motivation in relation to exports and imports that today, for the first time in its history, the Slovak side has a surplus of exports over imports, including in trade relations with the Czech Republic. We are putting an end to distorted prices and are switching over to real market prices between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. The money pipeline, about which so much has been written in the Czech Republic, had two currents. The first was the so-called surface current, which showed where the river was flowing. The other was an undercurrent, which was not visible but all the stronger. These currents have now been cut off on both sides. As a result, resources are remaining in Slovakia on a larger scale. The Slovak Republic will manage in this difficult situation. We are interested in maintaining the level of trade with the Czech Republic; we only want to even out the balance of payments. We want to maintain existing commitments among enterprises, be they of a technological or a merchandise nature. We also want mutual relations to be liberalized. What is happening at our common border runs counter to the will of the Slovak Republic and is being forced upon us from the outside. We are unequivocally opposed to it. But if the Czech side is determined to place administrative obstacles in the way of trade, we will be forced to come to terms with it and orientate imports and exports elsewhere.

[Minarik] You recently told German Minister of Foreign Affairs Kinkel that the Slovak Republic would improve the protection of its borders with Ukraine, Poland, and Hungary threefold. How?

[Meciar] We are already taking steps toward the external protection of the border. That is why I do not accept the argument that the Czechs and Slovaks must move to a standard border for reasons of protection against refugees. One of these specific measures is, for example, the merger of the police border protection units with the internal protection of the Slovak Republic territory. The system of protecting the green border thus reaches deep into the Slovak Republic's territory. Furthermore, border protection troops are being established. Another measure concerns the customs houses, which are being moved 15 kilometers inland. Then there is the so-called intelligence [zpravodajska] border protection. Compared with the previous state of affairs, border protection is thus being made three to four times more effective. During the talks with Minister Kinkel, however, we placed this question also on a multilateral basis. We recommended that a conference be convened where the protection of territory and the controlled movement of persons would become the subject of a European agreement. At the same time we assured the German side that the Slovak Government understood the German position and would give comprehensive support to its efforts.

[Minarik] But the improvement of border protection that you are discussing will require considerable financial resources. Will Slovakia ask the FRG, the Czech Republic, or someone else for help?

[Meciar] Ensuring the protection of one's territory is the duty of every state. Slovakia will accomplish this by its own means. It does not have to ask or beg for anyone's help.

[Minarik] After his talks with Slovak President Michal Kovac [on 30-31 March], Czech President Vaclav Havel said that their ideas about the border regime were closer than he himself had expected.

[Meciar] The Czech side's idea is to introduce a highly effective administrative control of goods at the border, coupled with the introduction of a standard regime for the movement of citizens as well. We have concluded some agreements with the Czech side. If it wanted to abolish them, it would have to do so unilaterally. No one

can expect us to create a standard border, at variance with previous agreements and plans, and to limit the movement of people between the two republics. As long as the existing contractual commitments remain in force, we do not intend even to participate in discussions about this issue.

[Minarik] Last year you told RUDE PRAVO [during the opening of the Rhine-Main canal] in Nuremberg that the Slovak Republic would create favorable conditions for Bavaria for investment, that it would inform German businessmen about its privatization plans, and so forth. Is this happening?

[Meciar] We have had visits by politicians, businessmen, and bankers. Specific agreements are being prepared, including the entry of the Bavarian bank [not specified] into Slovakia and the participation of German businessmen in privatization projects. Talks are taking place at all levels, and I am confident that they will be successful. But we are also interested in promoting and encouraging activities from elsewhere. The most recent experience from Russia and the United Kingdom suggests that this might bear fruit after a while.

[Minarik] Who will become Slovak deputy prime minister in charge of the economy? You said that you had offered this position to the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], but that they had not accepted it.

[Meciar] That is true. The situation is such, however, that the HZDS bears responsibility for the activity of the government today. The result of this responsibility is also the situation, which means the existence of a crisis but also elements leading to overcoming this crisis [sentence as published]. In a situation when negative phenomena still prevail in society, every political party is naturally afraid of joining the government. As soon as it becomes clear that we are about to get out of the crisis, the interest in an alliance with us will grow. As for who could fill the post of deputy prime minister in charge of the economy, I know who it is but will not make any name public. Should an agreement with another political party be concluded, after all, it would be pointless to appoint people who are currently close to the HZDS to positions for a short period, perhaps for only a few months. That is also why the posts of state secretaries at several ministries remain vacant.

[Minarik] Jan Carnogursky declared that after 100 days in office power is slipping out of the hands of your government. What is your view?

[Meciar] Mr. Carnogursky has not proven himself a good forecaster. It is his wishful thinking. The truth is different. The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] wants to form a government again. They have discussed this with the Slovak National Party [SNS], and its chairman, Ludovit Cernak, seems to be well disposed toward this idea. Jan Carnogursky offered ethnic Hungarians living in Slovakia autonomy in culture and education only to enlist their tacit support. I know that he is currently conducting talks with the SDL about its possible participation in the government. An interesting mixture would thus come about in the Slovak Republic, whose one wing would be represented by the SDL and the KDH and the other by the SNS and the Hungarian parties. He wants to build his future career and coalition on this. He relies on breaking up the HZDS Club of Deputies with Knazko's help and on luring away several deputies, which would weaken the position of our movement. Carnogursky has been working on these plans for several months and I am fully aware of it.

[Minarik] There is, however, a realistic prospect of your government losing its parliamentary majority. You do not seem to be worried by this prospect in the least.

[Meciar] I would only be worried if support for the government were based solely on the HZDS Club of Deputies. But this has never been the case. Knazko's influence on the HZDS Club of Deputies will be much smaller than he and those who urged him to take this step assumed. Knazko is essentially playing a role whose script was written by someone else, to say nothing about its stage manager.

[Minarik] Can you tell me who is behind Milan Knazko?

[Meciar] Let us wait till it becomes possible to expose these contacts entirely. People from the interior [lide z vnitrozemi] are also involved.

[Minarik] Your popularity and that of the HZDS is declining, according to the latest public opinion polls. The number of people who are indifferent and who are afraid of the future is growing. Does this not make you worried?

[Meciar] Of course. But such tendencies are manifested in societies everywhere, and we are no exception. We are alleviating the crisis in society but are not yet able to bring it to a halt. We are also taking measures that are unpopular but inevitable. Such a situation requires a new model of social relations. This model can no longer be indiscriminate but must differentiate between those who depend on social assistance and the rest. We are telling people that those who have enough money should look after themselves and should not ask the state for help. The state must help people who have nothing to live on. It is natural that all of this has a negative impact on society. This situation will change as soon as we manage to stabilize society and when individual areas start to recover, one by one. Now people still have reason to doubt. They feel that the general situation is improving for only about a quarter of the population. The other three-quarters are potentially discontented. It would be possible to take a few quick and effective steps that would extend my and the HZDS's popularity for a while, but a crash of the economy would follow. That is not what we want. It is necessary to stop the breakup of the economy, to build it up in a conceptual way, and I am confident that at the end of the electoral term the citizen will see a noticeable improvement.

[Minarik] You complain about biased information in the media about the activities of the Slovak Government and about yourself. Do you think that the fault lies only with journalists?

[Meciar] The fault lies, above all, in the times in which we live. Everyone is striving to find his place and so are journalists. Being independent is a fashionable slogan. They want to be independent from the state, but they are becoming dependent on someone else, and that is not always just the economic or information source. But being critical does not mean being hateful. Having a different alternative does not mean totally rejecting the other side. But I admit that I am not free from blame either. So far I have not had a workable [funkcni] information department of my own. I have also laid more stress on work than on providing information, which created a certain problem. I want to change that. But my attitude toward the media, and this must also be admitted, is influenced by the very bad experience I had in the pre-election period when a virtual manhunt was organized against me. Although this situation has improved since the elections, some media continue this manhunt in a certain form.

Moravcik Comments on Copenhagen Conference

LD1504152793 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Excerpts] The Conference on Economic Development of Countries of Central and Eastern Europe ended in Copenhagen yesterday by issuing a joint declaration. Upon his return from Denmark, head of the Slovak delegation, Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik held a news conference. It was held today shortly before lunch, and also taking part in it was our editor Agata Stankova:

[Begin recording] [Stankova] Mr. Minister, yesterday you returned from the Conference on Economic Development of the Countries of Eastern and Central Europe that was held in Denmark. Could you assess the course of this conference, express your own impressions and sensations?

[Moravcik] Well, this conference, in fact, generalized the existing situation and problems that occur in the sphere of cooperation between East and West and in granting aid in transformation of the economies in the countries of the former Soviet bloc. One could have reservations that the results of this conference are on a very general level, but despite this there are some basic elements that can be developed further and used during the multilateral and bilateral talks. I see the result of the conference positively, above all, in creating in this way a different kind of a negotiation base for further talks. But these talks will not be simple; on the contrary, they will be very tough. What is pleasing is that we can argue general principles that were expressed in the declaration adopted. [passage omitted]

[Stankova] You had the opportunity to meet representatives of the other countries of the Central European initiative, as well as Sweden and Belgium. Could you tell us more about your talks?

[Moravcik] These talks concerned, first, the topical questions as to the Visegrad group. This concerned the problem that is being solved at the moment—that is limitation on imports and exports of some economic produce. I also used the opportunity to discuss some questions concerning CSCE and our activity in the managing threesome with the minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden. [passage omitted] I told everybody about how we, as the Slovak Republic, imagine contributing to the stability of Central Europe because the stability of Central Europe is a matter that is greatly valued, that is very important also for our foreign policy and for implementing the interests of Slovakia in the entire region. I laid great stress, above all, on explaining the approach to solving certain problems that exist in this region between the Slovak Republic and Hungary. The presentation of our viewpoints was met with great interest and understanding. [end recording]

'Strict Financial Regulation' To Combat Deficit

AU1504122293 Prague CTK in English 2034 GMT 13 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 13 (CTK)—Strict financial regulation will be introduced in Slovakia this month as the state budget deficit which has reached 13.5 billion Slovak crowns since the beginning of the year, Finance Minister Julius Toth told CTK today.

Speaking during a break in today's session of the Slovak Economic Council, Toth said that in the first two months of the year the deficit had been a mere 1.2 billion Slovak crowns, while at the end of March it had reached 12 billion crowns.

Toth ascribes the big deficit to the absence of regulation of spending for the newly created Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs, and to the only partial regulation of funds allotted to the Interior Ministry.

Another reason is tax evasion by both state enterprises and private businesses. That is why an audit will be carried out in about 30,000 bigger companies.

NBS Denies Plans To Ration Hard Currency

AU1504161593 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Apr 93 p 2

["giv"-signed report: "The Slovak National Bank Is Not Considering Foreign Exchange Regulation"]

[Text] Bratislava— The Slovak National Bank [NBS] is not considering any administrative measures to ration foreign exchange, stated an NBS statement in last night's Radio Journal program on Slovak Radio. In its statement, the NBS simultaneously denied Minister Jaroslav Kubecka's statement that the Slovak Republic's foreign exchange reserves have dropped from $250 million to $25-20 million.

Slovak Enterprises Maintain Accounts in Prague

AU1504161193 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 14 Apr 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Money for Gas Remains in the Czech Republic; Payments of 40 Large Slovak Enterprises Go Through Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka in Prague"]

[Text] Bratislava— The Czech Republic has not yet transferred to the Slovak Republic financial resources from the fees it has obtained from West European customers for the transit of gas across the territory of Slovakia, although, during the signing of the agreement (on 31 March), Czech Minister of Trade and Industry Vladimir Dlouhy promised that these resources would be transferred within one week.

This was stated by Jozef Petras, director of the Financial Policy Department at the Slovak Ministry of Economy. He added that the payments retained by the Czech Republic after the federation's partition amount to 1-1.5 billion Slovak korunas a month. Shortage of funds causes the Slovak Gas Industry problems in purchasing Russian natural gas.

During an inquiry conducted in late January, Ministry of Economy staff ascertained that 40 large Slovak enterprises that export their products to foreign markets maintain accounts with Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka [Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Bank] in Prague. The situation has not "significantly changed" since then, which means that a large part of the foreign exchange proceeds from the export of merchandise from the Slovak Republic remains in Prague and the accounts of Slovak enterprises are being credited with korunas.

The liberalization of foreign trade, a process that started three years ago, made it possible for Slovak enterprises to export their merchandise on their own or through trading companies based in the Slovak Republic. Slovak enterprises themselves are to blame for the fact that most of the foreign exchange resources they earned remain in Prague today, according to Petras, because, unlike Czech firms, they were not prepared for the split in the federal currency.

A solution to the present situation, which is unfavorable for Slovakia, would be a supplement to the agreement on payments between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic that would define the terms of exports from the two republics to third countries, Jozef Petras stressed.

Croatian Speaker Mesic Received by Antall

LD1404200693 Budapest MTI in English 1908 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Budapest, April 14 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government continues to support Croatia in all international forums and makes every possible political effort to promote the restoration of peace, Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said at a Wednesday meeting with a Croatian parliamentary delegation headed by Stiepan Mesic, president of the Sabor.

Antall said the fact that ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina were in a particularly serious situation would continue to influence the decisions of the Hungarian Government.

The prime minister expressed the hope that the two countries would soon sign a minority protection agreement. He said Hungary would continue to give shelter to refugees from the former Yugoslavia, irrespective of their nationality.

Mesic said that the humane treatment of refugees in Hungary constituted a strong foundation for friendship between the two countries.

Bilateral relations established since diplomatic recognition of Croatia have been highly appreciated by both sides.

In the course of an analysis of the military situation, Antall said Western diplomacy was late in recognizing the danger emerging on the Balkans.

Mesic pressed for active and efficient international intervention against Serbia's militant tactic aimed at postponing peace.

Both sides held the development of economic and commercial relations as desirable, as well as Croatia's offer for the establishment of a Hungarian customs-free zone in the Rijeka port.

They also considered it important for the two countries to sign a free trade agreement and reopen the Adria oil pipeline.

Meets With Minister Jeszenszky

LD1504105693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] The foundation for Croatian-Hungarian relations for many decades, even centuries, has to be laid now, said Geza Jeszenszky when he met the speaker of the Croatian parliament [Stipe Mesic]. Reporting is Vilmos V. Kovacs.

[Kovacs] After the over one-hour discussion, the Hungarian foreign minister stated that Central Europe has to be rebuilt economically, and, among other things, there is a need for close Croatian-Hungarian relations for this. At today's discussions, it was said that both sides consider the start of free trade talks to be important. Geza Jeszenszky stressed that in the framework of various credit structures, Hungary will be happy to take part in Croatian reconstruction, a condition for which is the creation of peace.

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] I say frankly that I still do not see the prospects for peace as good. The international community can see the situation today, but it cannot see a solution that will create peace without force. And there is no willingness for the use of force. [end recording]

[Kovacs] In response to the EC accusation that it was meat products originating from Croatia that caused the foot-and-mouth disease in Italy, Geza Jeszenszky said the following:

[Begin recording] [Jeszenszky] On the issue of the meat embargo, there is no precise proof whatever. It would be the task of the EC to establish where the localized epidemic in Italy originated. In any event, I consider it important that this issue too should be clarified, and it is in the international interest and in the interest of Europe as a whole that a kind of split should not occur with respect to important agricultural trade.

[Kovacs] Was a joint stance proposed?

[Jeszenszky] A joint stance in this matter was not raised. [end recording]

Hold Talks With Gyoergy Szabad

LD1504210493 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Speaker of the Croatian Parliament Stipe Mesic has expressed appreciation for the support of the refugees who fled to our country. After having talks with [Speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly] Gyoergy Szabad today, he left Budapest.

[Unidentified reporter] After his talks with speaker Gyoergy Szabad, speaker Stipe Mesic of the Croatian parliament gave an interview to our "Newsreel." [passage omitted]

Stipe Mesic attributed historic significance to the fact that it was the first time that such a high-ranking Croatian parliamentary delegation visited Hungary. He thanked our country with special emphasis for accommodating and supporting refugees.

The speaker considered the expected cooperation between the committees of the two parliaments an important element and, at the same time, he stressed that it is important to sort out the situation of the minorities in both countries in a legal manner. An important stage of this can be the minority protection agreement whose plans were also discussed at his talks with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

Budget Deficit Smaller Than Expected

AU1504140593 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Apr 93 p 9

[MTI report: "Deficit Smaller Than Expected"]

[Text] The current budget showed a deficit of 41.4 billion forints at the end of the first quarter of 1993. Budget incomes stood at 221.9 billion forints, and budget expenses stood at 263.3 billion forints at the end of March 1993.

The budget deficit at the end of the first quarter of 1992 stood at 47.4 billion forints, in other words, a larger deficit than this year. The current smaller deficit can partially be explained by the larger tax payments made by the various enterprises and partially by the fact that the actual payment of tax refunds has not yet taken place. This will take place in the coming months. A considerable amount of corporation tax refunds is expected to take place in April and May this year. This amount stood at 27.1 billion forints in 1992.

Economic units paid 50.4 billion forints into the budget in the first quarter of 1993, almost 20 billion forints more than last year.

The fact that a considerable number of citizens had to pay the outstanding sums of income tax in March can also be seen in the current budget. Payments made by the population reached an amount close to 55.5 billion forints in the first quarter of 1993. This is 21 billion forints more than last year.

While budget incomes exceeded the predictions, budget expenses were in line with the forecast, and this led to the smaller deficit than expected. This deficit was totally covered by the issue of bonds. A total of 72 billion forints stood at the disposal of the budget from the issue of bonds in the first quarter of 1993, and this sum does not contain the amounts due back for the matured bonds.

The budget obtained credit of 110 billion forints from selling state bonds. Two bonds were issued in March: the Hungarian National Bank issued state bonds worth 10 billion forints and 15 billion forints, with durations of five and four years respectively.

The amount of treasury bonds decreased in the first quarter of 1993, by 37.6 billion forints. The main reason for this was that the liquidity bonds issued last year were completely repurchased. At the beginning of the year, this amount stood at 58.1 billion forints.

At the same time, the amount of treasury bonds with a flexible interest rate decreased by 10 billion forints. However, the amount of discount treasury bonds increased by 25 billion forints. The amount of consortium treasury bonds also increased, by 3.5 billion forints.

Long-Term Goal To Become Full NATO Member

LD1504135693 Budapest MTI in English 1214 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Budapest, April 15 (MTI)—Instead of pursuing a foreign policy of its own, the Hungarian Army operates in cooperation with the Foreign Ministry, head of the Defence Ministry International Department, Col. Laszlo Hajdu, told MPs on Thursday.

Informing parliament's Defence Committee on Military Diplomacy Issues, Hajdu said Hungary's long-term goal was to become a full NATO member. Until then, the country should seek associated membership, a status facilitated by NATO statutes of 1949.

Hajdu said an important step in developing ties with NATO was accrediting a Hungarian military diplomat to NATO headquarters in Brussels. Although the mission's legal status is still ambiguous and it is registered as part of the Hungarian Embassy in Brussels, the sides hope to reach an agreement on it soon. The diplomat's accreditation will then become official.

Hungary has been developing ties with NATO mainly in professional training and consultation, Hajdu said.

No significant progress had been made in military diplomacy with the Western European Union, he added.

Speaking about the Vienna disarmament talks, Hajdu called for agreements on reducing conventional arms to apply to Yugoslavia as well. At present, the resolutions reached at the negotiations are not mandatory for Yugoslavia.

Currently, Hungary has military diplomatic ties at various levels with 35 countries. Offices of military attaches operate in 23 countries. Also, Hungary's military diplomacy has to respond to the forming of new states around the country. A military attache has already been accredited to Kiev, and offices are to open soon in Bratislava, Ljubljana and Zagreb. Military attaches to Tokyo and Seoul are expected to be accredited next year. At the same time, military attache posts are to be scrapped in Damascus and in Africa, except for the Cairo mission.

Walesa To Hold Talks With Clinton

LD1504230193 Warsaw PAP in English 1702 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 15: During his upcoming visit to the U.S. on April 20, Polish President Lech Walesa is scheduled to have an hour-long discussion with U.S. President Clinton, participate in the opening ceremonies of the Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C. and meet with the local Polish community, announced presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski at a Thursday press conference at the Belvedere.

"This is not an official visit, but rather strictly working in nature", stated Drzycimski. Presidential political services bureau chief Andrzej Zakrzewski described the visit as "unofficial but official". Zakrzewski said that when two presidents talk for an hour in the White House, they certainly do not discuss "soccer scores."

Drzycimski specified the "setting-up of relations with the new American Administration" as President Walesa's foremost task during the coming visit. The talks are to cover "problems concerning both countries and the transformations occurring in Central and Eastern Europe."

The presidential spokesman did not rule out the possibility that discussions will also include questions concerning the distribution of G-7 funds to Russia in the form of aid.

An 8 person delegation will accompany President Walesa on his trip to the U.S., including Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The president is leaving Polish first lady, Danuta Walesa, at home.

Expects 'Understanding'

LD1504195493 Warsaw PAP in English 1928 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 15: President Lech Walesa said that the present government coalition should not be changed yet as there was a lot of work to do.

Asked by V.O.A. and "LE FIGARO" whether he would back the government and the coalition with his authority, the president said "I intervene when I have to. I support when it is good for the country and when it is not I change."

According to the president, early parliamentary elections would halt Polish reforms.

Walesa claimed that despite negative evaluation of Polish reforms by average citizens "the principles and values that we are introducing have started operating although they do not produce sufficient effects as yet."

The president said that the "provincial Poland" faced the worst situation and he stressed he wanted to help it change this.

Speaking about the privatization bill Walesa regretted that it failed to take into consideration the "ordinary people."

He emphasized the need for further U.S. presence in Europe and the necessity to create a new vision of Europe after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact.

"I expect understanding on the part of the new U.S. Administration for the complicated situation in Europe. This will be the aim of my visit to the U.S. and talks I would hold with President Bill Clinton," Walesa said.

Walesa Says Governing Coalition Still Needed

LD1504222193 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] President Lech Walesa believes that the present governing coalition is still needed by Poland and should not be changed in the near future.

In an interview for journalists from Voice of America and the Paris newspaper LE FIGARO, Lech Walesa stressed that the present governing coalition still had much work to do. Answering a question as to whether he would use his authority to support the government and the coalition, the president answered that he undertook actions only when it was essential for the country and did not make any changes when they were not necessary.

Walesa Meets Austrian Vice Chancellor on Cooperation

LD1504205393 Warsaw PAP in English 1842 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 15: President Lech Walesa on Thursday morning received Austria's Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Science and Research Erhard Busek to discuss security and economic cooperation in Europe. The meeting was attended by Ambassador of Austria to Warsaw Gerhard Wagner and head of presidential chancellery Janusz Ziolkowski.

The sides stressed that security and stabilization on the continent should become the first goal of the European Communities. They emphasized that the Balkan crisis and other challenges unfolding at present require a clearly specified vision of European development and consistency in operations.

The Western public opinion should be approached more openly to influence the implementation of postulates limiting threats to building a new peaceful order in Europe, Edward Busek said, stressing the great role President Walesa is playing in the undergoing transformations and emphasized his prestige and popularity in Western countries.

President Walesa expressed the willingness to expand cooperation between Poland and the Republic of Austria at all levels including the setting up of joint institutions to solve concrete problems.

Skubiszewski on Joining EC, Future of East Europe

AU1404195493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 9 Apr 93 p 9

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Josef Vesely; in Poland, date not given: "What Is the Most Important Thing for Our Entry to Europe"]

[Text] Warsaw—(From our special correspondent) Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has been the head of diplomatic corps in four coalition governments in post-totalitarian Poland. Today, he is ranked among the greatest experts in the foreign policies of our northern neighbors.

[Vesely] Sir, do you observe any important differences within the post-communist countries of Central Europe, as regards their preparedness to enter the EC?

[Skubiszewski] There are differences, but they are changing with time. Facts, and not wishes, will finally decide whether this or that country is better prepared than another country. Not only will the governments in Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, or Bucharest judge, but also, and more importantly, the EC Commission in Brussels. They have a different angle of perception. I think that we should stop getting entangled in such evaluations, since they are usually fruitless.

Our countries must make significant efforts to transform our internal structures and to push our reality closer to Western standards. I have heard once or twice Czech politicians saying that the Czech Republic is stressing this. I consider it very important and correct. It will be of no help to us to declare as our goal our integration into the EC, if the restructuring of our economies and laws are lagging behind, if we are behind in adjusting ourselves to Europe.

I believe that the schedule for our admission into the EC is clear. The countries of the Free Trade Association [EFTA] have priority over Eastern and Central Europe in joining Europe. The process of their admission into the EC should be completed by 1995, that is, in the near future.

The year 1996 could be the start of a new era for Central Europeans. This question is, will these countries be ready by then? It will certainly be appropriate to evaluate each country individually.

[Vesely] The time advantage gained by Poland and Hungary owing to the fact that their association treaties with the EC—unlike Czechoslovakia's—were ratified by the European Parliament last September, will play a certain role. Czechoslovakia's successor states will still have to conduct negotiations.

[Skubiszewski] These negotiations will certainly be completed in the near future. I am expecting no problems here, only some delay. Unfortunately, the ratification of European treaties with Poland and Hungary is lagging behind in some EC countries. We are constantly talking about it, but let as be realistic. From the EC's point of view, this delay is not so important. Temporary treaties with the EC are rather more important. They are introducing a number of trade and other regulations, which are already functioning.

[Vesely] The situation in Central Europe is changing with time. The division of the CSFR shows it, too. Are the common goals set up by new democracies after 1989 changing, too?

[Skubiszewski] I do not see any change in the goals. The division of Czechoslovakia into two independent countries means something to the Czechs, however. Relations with their German and Austrian neighbors remain unchanged, but in the east, Slovakia has become its neighbor, and not Ukraine. The border with Poland is shorter now, but it still exists. As far as Poland is concerned, I think there is no change. Our admission to the EC is an interest and task of the Twelve itself.

[Vesely] Would it be imaginable that Poland could—jointly with the Czech Republic, for example—accept obligations to cooperate with the state bodies of those EC countries that are bound by the Schengen Treaty (it relates, among other things, to cooperation within the group of eight "continental" EC countries)?

[Skubiszewski] Not quite. Countries that are parties to that treaty would hardly agree to our cooperation before we gained EC membership. However, there were proposals for us to assume some of these obligations and adopt some of those regulations. We cannot accept European obligations if we do not have European rights. However, this is a topic for discussion and for finding a compromise.

[Vesely] The possibility of intercepting criminals beyond the state borders would be interesting, at least....

[Skubiszewski] ....and necessary. I agree that it does not help fight crime if borders are open to criminals but not to the police. Borders, as a line dividing jurisdiction and sovereignty, will remain in the future, too. However, countries will share more of this sovereignty and jurisdiction. Europe, where there are many nations and cultures, has a common civilization and Christian roots. We should stress these common elements more and the borders will then become superfluous. However, this will require that our economic level and standard of living become similar. As long as there are large differences, the West will distance itself from us.

Defense Official: Contingent To Stay in Croatia

LD1504223393 Warsaw PAP in English 2209 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 15: Poland's Deputy Defence Minister Przemyslaw Grudzinski, said Thursday that he expected Poland's contingent in the United Nations peacekeeping forces in Croatia to remain for a long time.

He added that if the U.N. mandate was extended then the Polish troops would also stay on.

Speaking on his return from visiting Polish soldiers in Croatia, Grudzinski maintained that "the president was right. Our operations in peacekeeping missions always have to be verified, and this was one of the aims of the Defence Ministry delegations visit to the Polish battalion."

Grudzinski was referring to a statement made recently by President Walesa that Poland could not afford such big military commitments abroad. However Grudzinski favoured maintaining Poland's continued role in peacekeeping missions.

He revealed supplying Polish troops with additional equipment was under consideration, owing to the danger they faced in the former Yugoslavia and taking into account the tasks the United Nations had set its peacekeeping forces.

Russian Army Signal Unit Leaves Country

LD1504052493 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] [Announcer] Russian soldiers from a communications unit have left Czarna in Tarnow Voivodship [southeast Poland] two days ahead of schedule. The last Russian troops' base in the Malopolska region has ceased to exist. Russians are still stationed in 18 locations in Poland, mainly in Legnica, Gorzow, and Warsaw regions. Their task is to organize the transit of Russian troops which are being pulled back from Germany.

Military vehicles and equipment were loaded onto a special train at the Czarna Tarnowska station. An audit of what has remained at the base will go on until Friday. Then a representative of the Soviet Northern Group of Forces will hand over the territory of the liquidated base to a representative of the Polish Government. [Video shows soldiers loading equipment and trucks onto railway flatcars; groups of servicemen; aerials piled on the ground]

[Karol Krasnodebski, representative of Tarnow Voivoda, identified by caption] We shall try to assimilate this facility if it turns out to be possible. If not, we shall sell it all off. There is a great deal of interesting equipment here to trade away.

[Announcer] While communism was collapsing there were 50,000 Soviet soldiers stationed in Poland. On 8 April 1991 their withdrawal began. Last year all combat units left our country. Four thousand servicemen and 5,000 members of their families and Army civilian employees remain in Poland. [Video shows hut with a dish aerial on the roof, army truck, reinforced concrete slabs over an underground structure, gates with Soviet star, Soviet officers getting into a jeep]

[General Zdzislaw Ostrowski, government plenipotentiary for stationing Russian Federation Troops, identified by caption] They remain on the basis of an agreement signed on 22 May last year in Moscow. They are entitled to stay here until the end of 1993, but in accordance with the adopted schedule, the last soldier should leave our soil by the end of November—not by the end of the year but by the end of November 1993.

[Announcer] The Russian Army will leave behind 7,000 facilities. Nearly all of them require major overhaul and enormous investment.

Sejm Defers Vote on Privatization Program

LD1504224293 Warsaw PAP in English 2201 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 15: The Sejm (Lower House) on Thursday deferred for two weeks its vote on the government's revised legislation on the mass privatisation programme. The chamber also began discussions on proposed changes to the Polish labour code relating to sickness benefit.

The modified version of the mass privatisation programme, which became necessary after the Sejm rejected an earlier version in March, was reintroduced to parliament on the so-called legislative fast track. It returned to the house on Wednesday following a much-shortened committee stage. However, rightist opposition deputies successfully argued that the vote should be deferred to the next session of the Sejm.

The house also began consideration of proposals to change the regulations governing the payment of sickness benefit. Under the proposals, the costs of the first month of benefit will be covered by the employer, with the state Social Insurance Agency (ZUS) only becoming liable to meet sickness payments after 35 days.

Several deputies criticised the proposals for the burden they would place on small private businesses, and argued that the proposals would effectively mean the end of state sickness benefit, since over 90 percent of absences through illness last for less than 35 days.

In other business, parliamentary floor groups welcomed the government's draft law which will introduce measures to control and regulate trade in imported goods and technologies.

The legislation is needed to ensure that Poland is removed from the COCOM restrictive list of countries barred from receiving high-technology imports from the West. Most parliamentary floor groups accept that amendments to the legislation are essential if Poland is to acquire the new technology necessary to modernise her industries.

The present Sejm session continues on Friday.

EBRD Approves $270 Million in Loans for Government

LD1404194893 Warsaw PAP in English 1733 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 14—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) has approved loans for Poland totalling 540 million ECU [European Currency Unit] (over 270 million USD), Dorota Staron from the bank's Warsaw mission said on Wednesday.

According to the data released by the Central Office of Planning (CUP), credits made available for Poland by the end of 1992 amounted to 50 million dollars out of the 277.5 million declared by the bank to support large government projects.

Government Reiterates Support for Visegrad Group

LD1404224493 Warsaw PAP in English 2226 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 14—The Foreign Ministry is highly satisfied with the functioning of the Visegrad group, set up more than two years ago by Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, a Polish deputy foreign minister told the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Wednesday.

He said the group has become "a factor by itself" favouring the political and economic transformation of its member states.

According to Iwo Byczewski, the Western European states perceive the Visegrad group as a separate subject of international politics and maintain a regular political dialogue with all four member countries.

Poland's participation in the group helps improve bilateral relations with all partners, encourages integration with the European Communities and Western security structures as well as maintain stability in East-Central Europe, Byczewski claimed.

He also pointed out that cooperation within the framework of the group could help alleviate the adverse consequences of the division of Czechoslovakia.

Other Foreign ministry officials told the Sejm committee that the group members had differing opinions on whether Ukraine could be admitted as the fifth member state. The officials pointed out that such an admission would radically change the present character of the group whose members have all signed association treaties with the EC.

Security Bureau Presents National Guard Plans

AU1504101793 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Apr 93 p 5

["szw, poz"-signed report: "Still Part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but Under Walesa?"]

[Text] A "Plan for the Organization and Functioning of the National Guard" has been sent to parliamentary clubs by the presidential National Security Bureau [BBN]. The plan had previously been submitted to the Sejm National Defense Commission and was fiercely criticized by representatives of almost all political parties.

According to the BBN "Plan for the Organization and Functioning of the National Guard," the new military formation would "discharge tasks related to internal state security." Although as a formation the guard would operate within the framework of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and be accountable to the minister of internal affairs, its commander in chief would be the president. He would also decide on the use of the guard ("to eliminate exceptional threats" and possibly at the request of the prime minister).

Previously, the idea of creating a guard was justified by a wish to remove the present Vistula Military Units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs from the control of the minister of internal affairs. Instead, the Belvedere initially proposed that the new formation would be controlled by the president through the head of the BBN who would only be accountable to him. In view of the reservations expressed by politicians, it was in the end decided that the guard would be controlled by a minister accountable to the Sejm who would act on behalf of the head of state.

One reason for the criticism of the BBN plan voiced by deputies on the National Defense Commission was the danger that the guard would not come under parliamentary control. Even if Walesa were to control the guard through the head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, argued the deputies, it would be unclear whether the minister would be responsible before the Sejm for decisions that he had not himself made. The president is not responsible before parliament, except under the extraordinarily complicated impeachment procedure before the State Tribunal.

By 2000, the National Guard is to have 22,000 troops. In wartime, through mobilization, the figure is to reach 40,000.

Minister Jerzy Milewski, the head of the BBN, says that initially, the formation of the guard will not place a burden on the budget, because it will be formed out of the existing Ministry of Internal Affairs Vistula Units. In addition to the current duties of the Vistula Units, the guard would also assume some of the responsibilities of the Border Guard, the Police, and the Fire Brigade, such as dealing with disturbances, natural disasters, and combating terrorism.

The National Guard would be armed with firearms, artillery (82-mm mortars), antitank weapons (hand-held and heavy grenade launchers), antiaircraft weaponry (Strzala-2 rocket launchers and 23-mm artillery pieces), flame throwers and machine guns.

Sejm Adopts Draft Electoral Law

LD1504132993 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1200 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Just under an hour ago, deputies in the Sejm adopted the new draft electoral law with an overwhelming majority. The new electoral law does not fundamentally differ from the draft proposed by commission. As a result of adopted amendments, the percentage threshold required for the allocation of mandates to national lists was lowered to seven percent, simultaneously leaving a five percent threshold for individual parties. It was also determined that electors will be able to vote not only for an electoral list but also for a specific candidate from that list. New elections will take place on a non-working Saturday, and not as hitherto on a Sunday. The proposers of this amendment from the Alliance of the Democratic Left were concerned that electors not go to the ballot boxes straight from mass in church. Deputy Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych stressed after the vote that the adopted draft electoral law is the first step on the way to new elections. The new electoral law will now be considererd by the Senate and then by the president.

Decrees Law Withheld Until Privatization Law Passes

LD1504102293 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 0900 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] The government draft of the law on the right to issue decrees with the force of law, deposited with the Sejm over a month ago, has at the request of the government not been directed for deliberation by the chamber. The coalition has acknowledged this to be too great a political risk before the adoption of the universal privatization program, head of the Government Press Office Jacek Kozlowski told one of the Warsaw local radio stations. Both drafts are controversial, and their controversial nature could cause mutual harm. The conscious delay on the part of the government results from the situation of the coalition in parliament, Kozlowski clarified.

Party of Poor People Founded 14 Apr

LD1504212293 Warsaw PAP in English 1828 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Wroclaw, April 15—The Polish Party of Poor People was founded in the Wroclaw Club "Firlej" on Wednesday. Wojciech Sozanski, one of the party's founders stated that Poland is ruled by parties engaging in tit for tat quarrels. "As I found out from the television the Christian National Union (ZChN) says it has 6,000 members, and that party decides for me what are and are not Christian values", added Sozanski.

"Our task - aside from our political activities - is to create new jobs. In the masses constituted by the jobless and old age and disability pensioners is the potential seed of small business development. In the U.S. small businesses make up 20 percent of the GNP. We also want to create a sphere of services for the poorest, and we will also try to totally eliminate unemployment", added Sozanski.

Meat, Dairy Embargo Lifted From Hungary, Czech Republic

LD1604083393 Budapest MTI in English 0735 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Budapest, April 15 (MTI)—In Visegrad cooperation spirit, Poland has decided to lift its ban on meat and dairy imports from Hungary and the Czech Republic from midnight on Friday.

Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka notified counterpart Jozsef Antall of the move by telephone on Thursday, the prime minister's press office told MTI.

Slovak Parliament Leader Meets With Vacaroiu

AU1504155993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] The head of the Slovak parliamentary delegation currently visiting in Bucharest, Jozef Prokes, vice-chairman of Slovakia's Parliament, was successively received today by Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and Romanian President Ion Iliescu.

The statements made by the Romanian president and his Slovak guest emphasized the traditionally good relations between Romania and Czechoslovakia, of which Slovakia was a part, and the determination to maintain those relations.

Jozef Prokes expressed his hope that a Romanian parliamentary delegation will soon visit in Slovakia. He mentioned the fact that Romania and Slovakia have to cope with similar problems, such as the accusations they are facing regarding their alleged violation of the rights of ethnic minorities. Prokes stressed the fact that such problems are to be solved within a broader European context and on the basis of real facts, rather than distorted ones.

Holds News Conference, Criticizes Hungary

AU1504193093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1758 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/4/1993—"I am the first member of the Slovak Parliament to visit Romania after our state proclaimed its independence. I came to Romania as a friend and I leave as a great friend of Romania," Josef Prokes, vice-chairman of the Slovak National Council (the Slovak parliament), told a news conference held at the Senate headquarters on April 15.

The Slovak guest underscored "both parties' full willingness to continue the traditionally good relations in political, economic, cultural, and scientific fields, to develop the cooperation on the international arena, including the mutual support for the purpose of integration in the European structures."

Referring to issues concerning the national minorities, Josef Prokes stated: "If we exchange the word 'Romania' with 'Slovakia,' the situation remains the same," reiterating his statements of the previous day at the meetings with the Romanian authorities, to the effect that "among the minorities only one is dissatisfied, the Hungarian one, more specifically not the population, but rather some of its leaders. Those leaders want to internationalize this so-called problem, and consequently we are investigated, but many of the western countries which are investigating us have much greater problems concerning the minorities. At the same time, we are not indifferent to signals that point to the 'greater Hungary' dream. We stand for the internationalization of all the national minorities' problems, by working out a study based on facts, and then many will be surprised by its results. I will be happy if Hungary admits to such a study of the minorities' situation over the last 40 years. Reality shows that in Slovakia the Hungarian minority increased in number to over 450 thousand. In 1950 about one quarter million Slovaks were living in Hungary, while now the Hungarian statistics show merely ten thousand."

Vacaroiu Receives IMF Delegation Head Watson

AU1504193193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/4/1993—Romanian Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu met Thursday, April 15 in the afternoon at the Victory Palace (government headquarters) with the mission of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] headed by IMF chief negotiator Max Watson.

During the dialogue—the last stage of the negotiations on the stand-by loan agreement between the Romanian government and the IMF—a series of topics were approached, like the national public budget, the leu-dollar exchange rate, the interest rate on deposits, restructuring of loss-making enterprises, strengthening financial discipline and reducing overdue payments, and the legislative frame necessary to the reform. According to government sources, the intention was voiced to finalize negotiations by the end of April.

The same day the IMF mission had separate meetings with State Ministers Misu Negritoiu and Florin Georgescu.

Iliescu Appoints New Prosecutor General

AU1504160893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Manea Dragulin Vasile was appointed Romania's Prosecutor General today by a presidential decree.

Other presidential decrees issued today relieved former Prosecutor General Mihail Ulpiu Popa-Cherecheanu, Deputy Prosecutor General Mugurel Cristian Florescu, and First Deputy Prosecutor General Nicolae Cochinescu from their posts.

Vasile Teodorescu was appointed first deputy prosecutor general, Mihail Ulpiu Popa-Cherecheanu deputy prosecutor general, and Nicolae Cochinescu financial prosecutor general at the court of accounts, our correspondents at the presidency reported.

During a meeting held today with the leadership of the prosecutor general's office, President Ion Iliescu pointed out that those personnel changes have been made to eliminate doubts and suspicion concerning the so-called military character of the prosecutor general's office, especially now, when it is to be turned into a public ministry.

Referring to the court of accounts, Iliescu said that it plays a very important role in the economic and social

life of the country because it is the state's main institution controlling the observance of the laws and the functioning of state institutions.

ROMPRES Provides Biography

AU1504193793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1743 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/4/1993—By a presidential decree, Manea Dragulin Vasile has been appointed Romania's Prosecutor General.

Manea Dragulin Vasile was born on September 1, 1939. He graduated from law school in 1965. For 25 years he worked in the Prosecutor's Office, until 1990 when he was appointed judge in Romania's Supreme Court of Justice. He is married and has one son, a student.

A statement for the press made shortly after the appointment showed that new prosecutor-general would fight for the supremacy of the law and against corruption and violence. "At present there is a crisis of authority in Romania. We shall act in such a manner that nobody might put himself above the law and I am sure that things will take their normal course," the new prosecutor general said.

Ministry Corrects 'Erroneous' News on Tanker

AU1504193493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1753 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/4/1993—About the erroneous information released by Bulgarian news agency BTA on April 13, 1993, the press office of the Romanian Transport Ministry desires to make the following points:

The pusher-boat Filiasi 10, property of the Romanian company CNF-Giurgiu-Nav, with six barges loaded at the Romanian port of Tulcea with approximately 6,400 metric tonnes of crude oil left on 5 April 1993 for the port of Vidin (Bulgaria), where it arrived on 11 April 1993. The barges were taken over by the customs and police of the port of Vidin, according to the statement of the captain of Filiasi 10 and the shipping documents.

The pusher-boat then left the port of Vidin, and arrived in the Romanian port of Giurgiu on 13 April 1993.

Mention must be made that the transport was made as per stipulations of a contract between CNF-Giurgiu-Nav and the Romanian company Rivmar of Tulcea, a contract that still applies and requires regular equal-size transports bound for the Bulgarian ports of Ruse and Vidin.

The barges are loaded in the Romanian port of Tulcea from maritime ships [sea oil tankers] and are approved by the customs office, the harbor master's office and the Romanian Ministry of Environment.

Manolescu Calls Iliescu's Stance 'Scandalous'

AU1504192993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] During the weekly news conference of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] which was held today in Bucharest, PAC President Nicolae Manolescu described President Iliescu's assertions—that he intends to call union leaders to account [for organizing the 12 April union protests]—as scandalous and contrary to the Constitution.

President Iliescu's stance seems to be part of a strategy intended to create a new dissension within Romanian society, PAC leader Manolescu added.

Article Claims Fishing Vessels Carried Weapons

AU1504180393 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 8 Apr 93 p 1

[Unattributed article: "The Polar Ships Carried Dozens of Tonnes of Weapons With a Destination of Casablanca"]

[Text] A group of sailors, who for their personal security preferred to remain anonymous, have made a surprising statement to our reporters: The Polar [refrigerator] cargo vessels of the Tulcea Ocean Fishing Company have been used for transporting weapons and ammunition.

By the end of May 1992, Polar XI transported approximately 20 tonnes of weapons and ammunition with a destination of Casablanca, Morocco, while Polar X carried an even larger quantity of the same articles on the route Casablanca—Nouakchott, Mauritania—Lagos, Nigeria.

The vessels Polar III and Polar XII were also used for the same kind of services.

The weapons and ammunition were not transferred aboard in the vessels' home port of Tulcea but rather in Constanta. According to the sailors, the wharf by which the vessels were anchored waiting for their cargo was next to a cereal silo and camouflaged by a huge shield. Here, under tight control, the weapons and ammunition were packed in containers normally used for tinned food and other similar goods.

The witnesses claim that the vessels were also loaded with artillery equipment, which, although dismantled, could not pass unnoticed by the crew, owing to their large dimensions. Sailors who still doubted the true nature of the cargo were convinced when several containers accidentally fell to the ground from the hook of the crane. Breaking up, they revealed boxes filled with automatic rifles and ammunition.

Record Seizure of Cocaine at Otopeni Customs

AU1504180293 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 9 Apr 93 p 1

[Razvan Andronache article: "One Hundred Kilograms of Cocaine Were Seized at the Otopeni Customs Office"]

[Text] Four containers bearing the label "Sculptures" arrived at the Otopeni International Airport customs office. They have been sent from Venezuela and are for the Romanian citizen Costica Naciadis. Customs officers became suspicious of the fact that two of the packages contained two massive granite pedestals. Together with officers of the Drugs Office of the General Customs Direction they discovered that the pedestals contained the impressive amount of 100 kilograms of cocaine! This is the most significant Romanian drug seizure ever, if one considers the quality and quantity of the cocaine, which sells at huge prices on Western markets.

PHARE Program To Support 'Social Dialogue'

AU1504180493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1505 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/4/1993—The Romanian Department for European Integration announced a Thursday, April 15 press conference that two million ECU had been allotted to finance a PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program of technical assistance for Romania with a view to establish a legal and institutional frame for the social dialogue.

A three-party government-trade unions-employers technical secretariat has been set up in order to provide a long-term dialogue between those social partners.

PHARE representative Ian Grant mentioned as a prime target of the program the development of social dialogue in Romania as a means to ensure social peace and guarantee consultation and cooperation during the transition period. According to Grant, the PHARE support will consist of assistance in formulating and implementing statute instruments as well as structure and processes of social dialogue, and strengthening the ability of the government and social partners to contribute effectively in social dialogue.

Parliament Members Assess Image in U.S.

AU1404200493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1700 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/4/1993—A delegation of Romanian Parliament members, representing six political parties, headed by Senator Radu Timofte, chairman of the Senate Committee for Defense, made a visit to the United States from March 6 to April 4, on an invitation of the U.S. Information Agency. The members of the delegation recounted to an April 14 press conference their impressions about the visit and supplied information about their meetings.

National Salvation Front Deputy Victor Bostinaru considered the visit as very important for the perception of Romanian realities in the United States—often distorted and unilateral, or truncated, Romania appearing to the Americans as a "half-exotic" country especially known for the "coal miners, handicapped children, Funar and Dracula." All delegation members agreed on the necessity that efforts be made in order to change that image and that even their visit—the first one by parliament members from Eastern Europe—represented a positive step.

Senator Radu Timofte informed that during the meetings at the Pentagon the opinion had been voiced that Romania's geo-strategic position was not and could not [be] disregarded by the Americans, as Romania is seen as a political and military balancing factor in its tense zone.

The delegates also opined that a favourable opinion existed on granting Romania the most favoured nation status. That opinion was brought about by Romania's observing the embargo against Yugoslavia and the Chamber of Deputies' favourable vote on the two amendments to the foreign investment bill, although the Romanian judiciary and television were still subject to doubts and accusations still were voiced against extremism and ethnic contentions.

Izetbegovic: Srebrenica's Fall Would Be 'Catastrophe'

AU1504154293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, left Zagreb for Norway this morning. He will meet with Thorvald Stoltenberg in Oslo, who will soon replace Cyrus Vance as a mediator in the negotiations on former Yugoslavia. Izetbegovic will also hold talks with Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland and Foreign Minister [as heard] (?Johan Jurgenssen).

President Izetbegovic held political talks in Zagreb. He talked to Reginald Bartholomew, U.S. envoy in the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. After the talks, President Izetbegovic was not in the mood for journalists' questions and only said briefly in passing that Bosnia-Herzegovina was still giving time to the Bosnian Serbs to sign the Vance-Owen plan. Regarding the fall of Srebrenica, Izetbegovic said such a thing must not even be contemplated, not to say, agreed to, as the fall of this town would be a great catastrophe.

Karadzic Talks About Muslim Aggression, War

LD1504145293 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Interview with Bosnian Serb Leader Dr. Radovan Karadzic, by presenter Jeremy Paxman; Paxman in London, Karadzic in Belgrade; From the "Newsnight" program—live]

[Text] [Paxman] The leader of the Bosnian Serbs, Dr. Radovan Karadzic joins us now from Belgrade. Good evening, Dr. Karadzic.

[Karadzic] Good evening to you.

[Paxman] How do you justify your troops murdering children in a school playground?

[Karadzic] Well I know that it is hard to believe, but I have to tell you and to repeat once again, Serbian forces didn't shell Srebrenica. They have the strongest order not to shell Srebrenica, and I would like to remind you of a killing, mass killing in Bratunac, in city of Sarajevo [as heard], which was done by Muslims to damage Serbian political position.

[Paxman] But the UN has no doubt that it was Bosnian Serb troops.

[Karadzic] They can't say that, unless they have their own monitors in both Muslim and Serbian units, because both Muslim and Serbian units are on the hills around Srebrenica.

[Paxman] The other possibility is either that you're a liar or you have no control over your troops.

[Karadzic] No we have full control over our troops and they exactly know that it would damage our political positions. None of them would do that.

[Paxman] What are you going to do if the arms embargo is lifted and arms supplies are allowed through to the Muslims?

[Karadzic] First of all this is sort of myth that Muslims are not armed. They are armed very well, they have all kinds of weaponry that Serbs have, and they are very well supplied by Islamic countries and by Germany. But if the arms embargo is lifted then God help us because Serbs also would have to buy new weaponry and the war would escalate and least to be the Balkans war [as heard].

[Paxman] So you are saying then that if the arms embargo is lifted against the Muslims you would consider that gave you some sort of carte blanche to go on an arms buying expedition yourselves?

[Karadzic] I have to tell you that Serbian people would have to protect themselves, we are minority in Bosnia, 35 percent of population, fighting against 65 percent of Muslim-Croatian coalition. We are endangered, we have to protect ourselves.

[Paxman] What would you do if the UN or the West took Lady Thatcher's advice and considered air strikes against your targets?

[Karadzic] Well I think that it would unleash a terrible chaos, nobody would put control over the events and it would be disaster if it happens.

[Paxman] What would be your attitude towards those UN forces already in place in your country?

[Karadzic] Well we would try to avoid any conflict that is avoidable, but let me tell you we remember the first 45 days of this war as a chaos and it may be another chaos and we would lose our unified control and command and nobody can guarantee anything.

[Paxman] Now, are you prepared to accept the Vance-Owen plan if it does not include Srebrenica, for example, as a Serb city?

[Karadzic] Yes, we would accept Vance-Owen plan without Srebrenica, but we can't accept those maps because they are pushing us toward a misery and they are endangering our own existence, physical existence. We own 64 percent of territory and this territory is in continuity, I don't know why we should accept many Nagorno-Karabakhs that would cause another anxieties and conflicts between three national communities.

[Paxman] So are you saying that you won't accept the plan if it doesn't include some sort of northern corridor?

[Karadzic] Absolutely impossible to accept without corridor and without the best part of lands and river valleys that are Serbian, and I will remind you that Carrington's map before the war, have offered to the Serbs 55 percent

of territory and with corridors. That was before the war, before the so-called aggression.

[Paxman] What about Goradze?

[Karadzic] Goradze there was about 30 percent of Serbs and all of those villages are conquered by the Muslims, we don't know anything about our own civilians in Goradze. We will not attack them unless they attack us.

[Paxman] So where are you going to attack next?

[Karadzic] Well, we didn't want to attack Srebrenica. There was two and a half [as heard] of Muslim offensive in eastern Bosnia, they have killed 1,326 people. Last two days they have killed 41 people during cease-fire and we can't maintain cease-fire if all sides are not interested.

[Paxman] Mr. Karadzic, is there any reason we should believe a single word you're saying, we've sat here, we've listened to you for a year now saying one thing after another, not honoring a single pledge you've made. Why should we believe a single word you're saying?

[Karadzic] Well, I should be trusted. We don't need any war. We have protected all of our territories. We need peace and we need political solution, and you know exactly that we...

[Paxman, interrupting]...Well, then why don't you stop killing people?

[Karadzic] We stop killing people, but they don't stop killing us. That's the problem. We do not seek for military intervention, Muslims do seek for military intervention...

[Paxman, interrupting] ...OK, Mr. Karadzic, thank you very much indeed, thanks.

Morillon Makes 'Desperate Efforts' at Cease-Fire

AU1604075393 Paris AFP in English 0722 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Sarajevo, April 16 (AFP)—With Bosnian Serb forces closing in on the eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica, U.N. General Philippe Morillon was making desperate efforts Friday to obtain a pause in the fighting.

He was also trying to arrange immediate helicopter evacuation of the seriously wounded.

Morillon, a French general and the Bosnia-Herzegovina commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), worked the telephones Thursday [15 April] evening and into the night past 1.00 A.M. local time Friday, UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer said.

Bosnian presidency and military high command officials were also meeting past 1:00 A.M.

The UNPROFOR spokesman said Morillon expected to meet later Friday with General Ratko Mladic, the commander of the Bosnian Serb forces.

At least 500 seriously wounded—many of them amputees—are reported to be trapped in Srebrenica, which has just one 125-bed hospital manned by a handful of staff.

The town, which had a population of 6,500 before the war in this former Yugoslav republic started a year ago, now holds some 60,000 people who were reported by a radio operator Thursday to be panicking as the Serbs advanced.

The authorities in the Muslim town refused on Thursday to allow the evacuation by road of some 8,000 civilians—a few elderly women were allowed to leave—demanding that an air corridor be set up instead to ferry out the wounded.

Morillon has been negotiating the security of an air evacuation corridor with the Serbs since heavy Serb shelling of the town on Monday in which at least 70 people died and more than 120 were wounded. A U.N. official said the bombardment was obviously targeted against civilians.

Many of the wounded in the town are understood however to be men of military age—18 to 60—and the Serbs say they may be evacuated only to Serb hospitals.

The UNPROFOR has French Puma and British Sea King helicopters standing by in the southern Croatian port city of Split which could reach Srebrenica "in a matter of hours" after an agreement with the Serbs, Frewer said.

"General Morillon hopes to get an immediate cease-fire, and immediate air evacuation," he said.

Frewer said at 8:15 A.M. (0615 GMT) Friday that "we do not have a reading at this time of the intensity of the fighting or how close the Serb forces are."

But he said indications were that "a number of villages" near Srebrenica had fallen.

He said that General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, the UNPROFOR commander for all ex-Yugoslavia, was still hoping to get Mladic together with Sefer Halilovic, the commander of the mainly Muslim Bosnian Army, "sometime this weekend."

Halilovic has refused to attend the last four such meetings arranged, demanding that the Serbs cease their fire for at least 24 hours beforehand."

THE NEW YORK TIMES reported Friday that Muslim defenders in Srebrenica were negotiating a surrender that could put the enclave in Serbian hands as early as noon Friday.

Quoting unnamed U.N. officials in Sarajevo, the daily said the terms of the surrender would guarantee the safe evacuation of 60,000 Muslim civilians as well as the garrison of defenders.

Muslims Refuse Evacuation of Civilians

LD1504180593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1640 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Bratunac, April 15 (TANJUG)—The Moslem authorities in Srebrenica on Thursday, as they did several times before, prevented Moslem civilians to leave this Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, TANJUG reporter learned from Bosnian Serb Army sources in Bosnia.

Moslem civilians were scheduled to leave Srebrenica, on their own free will, for Moslem-controlled Tuzla by trucks of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

For the past year, the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina has been the scene of a brutal civil and ethnic war between local Serbs, Moslems and Croats.

A UNHCR convoy, which was planned to transport Moslem civilians on Thursday morning, crossed the Serb-controlled territory without any problems, delivered humanitarian aid to Srebrenica, but it returned empty from Srebrenica to Zuti Most, at the border between Serb and Moslem forces.

Ten days ago, when another convoy returned fom Srebrenica empty, its officer in charge, member of the UNHCR mission Bill Toll, said that at least 15,000 people were ready to leave Srebrenica.

Toll stressed that the Serb side did "absolutely everything to provide safe passage to the convoy."

The local Moslem authorities also use force to prevent Moslem civilians to get aboard UNHCR trucks.

Cease-Fire Violations in Srebrenica, North

AU1604070193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] The cease-fire was violated on most battlefields in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina again yesterday. The most serious cases were registered in the Srebrenica region and north Bosnia. Serbian military sources stress that Muslim formations from Srebrenica attacked Serbian positions, and that the Serbian side did not respond.

In north Bosnia, the Muslim formations are stepping up attacks on the Serb positions, especially around Doboj and Teslic. This was announced in Banja Luka.

NATO Makes Radar Contact With Possible Violator

AU1604084493 Paris AFP in English 0820 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Vicenza, Italy, April 16 (AFP)—NATO planes have made radar contact with another possible violator of the U.N.-mandated no-fly zone in Bosnia-Herzegovina, making it three in as many days, a NATO spokesman said Friday [16 April].

The spokesman said an AWACS surveillance aircraft had made radar contact Thursday [15 April] with a "low-speed" aircraft, probably a helicopter.

But this was not classified as a violation as no intruding aircraft was sighted, either Thursday or on any of the previous days, the spokesman said.

The Airborne Warning and Control Systems plane, which flies at a high altitude outside Bosnia's borders sent two Dutch F-16 fighters over Bosnia to check it out. The Dutch failed to make radar contact.

On Wednesday [14 April], both an AWACS and two Dutch F-16 fighters "detected an uncorrelated track within Bosnia-Herzegovina," also probably a helicopter, the spokesman said.

Dutch fighter jets had a radar contact with a possible violator along the southern border of Bosnia on Tuesday [12 April].

The spokesman, who asked not to be named, said about these tracks: "It could be a possible violator. It could be aircraft that is an authorized U.N. flight." He said bad weather made seeing the aircraft impossible and that there were many U.N. flights over Bosnia.

The cloudy, stormy weather over the former Yugoslav republics is expected to last one more day Friday before clearing.

NATO began last Monday Operation Deny Flight to police a no-fly zone over Bosnia. The zone was proclaimed in October but not enforced.

As of midnight Thursday, fighter jets from the United States, France and the Netherlands, flying from four bases in northeast Italy, had flown 146 missions, 44 of them on Thursday.

Muslim Officials Block Evacuation

AU1504152193 Paris AFP in English 1505 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Sarajevo, April 15 (AFP)—Another U.N. convoy reached the besieged eastern Bosnian town of Srebrenica Thursday but local Moslem authorities refused to allow it to evacuate women and children, a U.N. spokesman said.

An amateur radio operator in Srebrenica reported later that the convoy left the town empty after unloading relief supplies, officials at the Bosnian Presidency said.

John McMillan, a spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said that local officials were insisting that the U.N. organize the helicopter evacuation of wounded from the town, he said.

He said Serbian forces had advanced to within rifle-range of Srebrenica and the authorities probably feared the mainly Moslem town would fall if the wounded were allowed to leave.

But he said a message had been passed to Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, currently out of the country, and that the president would order the Srebrenica authorities to let the wounded leave the town.

In Zagreb, U.N. Protection Force officials said they had called the military chiefs of the Bosnian Government and Bonsian Serbs to a meeting at Sarajevo airport for Friday, but it was unclear if they would attend.

The Bosnian Government commander, General Sefer Halilovic, has refused to attend previous meetings with Bosnian Serb army chief Ratko Mladic because of continued Serbian attacks on Srebrenica.

New Bridge Opens in Mostar; U.S. Aid Praised

AU1504152093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Omer Vatric report from Mostar]

[Excerpt] Our forces and the Americans [words indistinct] are increasingly present in the town. Many things are changing thanks to their aid, while the life is becoming safer and easier.

The bridge in the southern zone of the town, which is better known in Mostar as the Aviators' Bridge, was ceremonially opened today. This is a [words indistinct]-type bridge that has already been erected in [word indistinct], some 20 km south of Mostar.

The bridge was solemnly opened by Jadran Topic, president of the Mostar Croatian Defense Council, and George [word indistinct], representative of the U.S. Embassy, who on this occasion emphasized that the opening of the bridge was a result of excellent cooperation between the people of this region and the people of America. Mr. Topic thanked the U.S. Government, the civilian defense in Mostar, and [words indistinct] Herzegovina, and to all who helped linking the two banks of Neretva River.

Besides building bridges, the Americans are present in the town in other ways, too. Two (?NATO) aircraft that were yesterday evening slowly flying over Mostar and the slopes of Mt. Velez—from which the deadly grenades of the Serbian aggressor have been falling on Mostar and from where the Mostar residents until now feared the strikes by the Serbian air force— at the attitude of only 2,000 to 3,000 meters, caused real euphoria. However our security and future does not depend merely on the Americans, the United Nations, NATO troops, and Europe, but primarily on ourselves. [Passage omitted]

UNHCR 'Unclear' About Situation in Srebrenica

AU1604113593 Paris AFP in English 1128 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Geneva, April 16 (AFP)—The UNHCR is unclear about the situation in the besieged eastern Bosnian enclave of Srebrenica which is said to be about to fall to the Serbs, a UNHCR spokeswoman said Friday [16 April].

"The reports are conflicting but obviously the High Commissioner finds the reports that Srebrenica is in immiment danger deeply distressing," said Sylvana Foa, a spokeswoman with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva.

She said Sadako Ogata, the U.N. high commissioner, was planning to renew her appeal to all the warring parties in the conflict "not to take any action that will further endanger lives of people in the enclave."

She said in case Srebrenica falls to the Serbs, the UNHCR had set up an emergency plan so that truck convoys can evacuate the population, estimated overall to number about 60,000.

But men of military age—18 to 60—would probably have to be left to their fate, U.N. officials indicated.

Local Bosnian army commanders reported constant and increasing shelling of the mostly Moslem town Friday.

And a Bosnian army official said Moslem forces might have to surrender Srebrenica to save the civilians trapped there.

"All options are open," said the official, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Foa said about 50 trucks, separated in groups of 12 and carrying food, water and medical supplies, were on stand-by in Belgrade ready to head toward Srebrenica to pick up any civilians that may flee the town. Thirteen refief workers remain in the enclave, she said.

"We hope that the cease-fire will resume as soon as possible and that we will be able to resume the medical evacuation," she said.

She added that food supplies were particularly low in Tuzla where the Srebrenica refugees are being taken.

Food supplies there are expected to last four more days, Foa said.

Anonymous Army Official Says 'All Options Open'

AU1604120493 Paris AFP in English 1150 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Sarajevo, April 16 (AFP)—The Bosnian Army may surrender the besieged eastern town of Srebrenica to Serb forces to save the 30,000 Moslem civilians trapped there, an Army official said Friday [16 April].

"All options are open," said the official, speaking on condition of anonymity.

"The worst variant (the fall of Srebrenica) is possible," he admitted as reports came in of heavy Serb attacks on Bosnian lines and the town itself.

"All options are open, including surrender negotiations."

The official, speaking early in the afternoon, said he had received no reports indicating that surrender negotiations had already started.

The U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) also said they had not received any such reports.

The United Nations is drawing up plans to evacuate all women, children and elderly men from Srebrenica, but men of military age—18 to 60—would not be able to pass through the Serb lines.

Their only option would be to stay in Srebrenica and surrender, or take to the hills around the valley town, trying to live off the land and evade Serb patrols.

Many men of military age are among at least 500 wounded trapped in Srebrenica, which has just one 125-bed hospital.

The Serbs say the wounded men must be placed in Serb hospitals if evacuated.

"There are no volunteers," said one UNHCR official.

The UNHCR has 75 trucks standing by to take out the evacuees, who would probably be taken to the much bigger mainly Moslem town of Tuzla, 90 kilometres (54 miles) to the northwest.

Its resources are already strained by an influx of Moslem refugees driven from their homes by the Serb practice of "ethnic cleansing" of conquered territory."

UNHCR Sarajevo spokesman John McMillan said at 1:15 P.M. (1115 GMT) that he had just received a report that there had been no shelling of the town for the previous hour.

Serbs Protest Restrictions on Helicopter Flights

LD1504134493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Pale, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—The Ministry of Health of the Serb Republic today sent a letter to UN Secretary-General Butrus- Ghali informing him of their disapproval of the new rule that all helicopter flights transporting wounded must be reported six days in advance.

According to the rule, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] will approve flights and their routes.

From the medical point of view, it is absolutely unacceptable to restrict flights of medical helicopters, because only fast and timely transport of seriously injured to qualified medical institutions can save their lives, the letter states. We are not capable of offering treatment to all wounded in hospitals in the Serb Republic, hence their urgent and timely transport to large medical centers is necessary.

Not a single medical flight has been so far used for nonmedical purposes. These helicopters are not armed. All of them are properly marked.

Helicopters are frequently forced to land at frontlines in order to pick up the injured. For security reasons, it is not possible for helicopters to fly on previously set routes, because they would become an easy target for ground troops, which are ignoring all norms of international humanitarian law, including the ban on opening fire on medical transport vehicles.

For all these reasons, we plead with the Security Council president to reexamine regulations regarding restrictions on medical flights and to find other ways of checking humanitarian helicopter flights, concludes the letter sent to Butrus-Ghali by the Ministry of Health of the Serb republic.

Srebrenica Muslims Continue Attacking Serbian Posts

LD1504143593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1346 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Ornik, April 15 (TANJUG)—Moslem extremists from the region of Srebrenica, a Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia, on Thursday morning continued their offensive on Bosnian Serb positions from all available artillery and infantry arms.

The targets of the offensive, which began on Saturday, are the points of Zanik and Caus where the Moslems are trying to fortify their positions, sources close to the Army of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina said.

Moslem units are persistently shelling and shooting at Serb villages and positions of Serb defenders despite a cease-fire, declared in the broader area around Srebrenica on Saturday, the same sources added.

Moslem artillery and infantry attacks continued unabated also in some parts of the defence line of the eastern Bosnian town of Zvornik, particularly on the Serb villages of Boskovcca and Kiseljak.

Moslem terrorist armed groups, whose victims are usually Serb civilians, are still infiltrating into the Zvornik region, the Bosnian Serb military sources said.

Bosnian Serb forces do not return fire on the town of Srebrenica although the Srebrenica Moslems are trying to prove so through various deceits launched on foreign media, the sources added.

According to Wednesday's reports from the Bosnian Serb Army, 43 Serb soldiers were killed and 71 wounded in the Moslem offensive in the broader area around Srebrenica.

Srebrenica Continues Under Constant Fire

AU1604094793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Report from the Srebernica Press Center]

[Text] The (?offensive) on Srebrenica is not abating but is increasing from day to day. The aggressor is located only a few kilometers away, where it is holding the town under constant artillery fire. More than 20 persons were killed after 1200 [1100 GMT] yesterday. The attack on the defense lines between Licari and Zalozje that started yesterday did not stop last night. It was intensified in the early hours today. Even though it is suffering significant losses, the aggressor is refreshing its ranks with new troops from other parts of occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina and is continuously attacking. Members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina are still resisting the increasingly strong artillery-infantry attacks of a far superior enemy.

Chetniks from (?Kvarc) and Pribicevac were destroying the town last night and this morning with fire from mortars of all calibers, as well as killing its innocent population. Because of the increasing number of wounded in the military hospital in Srebrenica, the commune's War Presidency is appealing to the Security Council and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] to open an air corridor as soon as possible between Srebrenica and Tuzla to evacuate over 500 seriously wounded people.

Fighting Situation Updated; New Offensives Indicated

AU1604113593

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 16 April reports "during the night and this morning, the enemy was constantly provoking defenders in the zone of the (?7 Jug) Operations Group of the Second Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, particularly in the Maglaj and (?Novi Seher) regions."

The report adds that in the Doboj region, "the enemy is amassing fresh forces and hardware. New tanks arrived from the direction of Banja Luka in Modrica in the last 24 hours. There are currently over 40 tanks on the move in this region. This clearly indicates that Chetniks are preparing new offensives."

The Press Service of the Fourth Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Jablanica states: "Jablanica is still being shelled. Although the residents were hoping that the night would pass without shelling, Jablanica was hit by shells fired from the positions of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], as early as 2230 [2030 GMT]. Explosions were heard again approximately 20 minutes after midnight. The villages around Jablanica were pounded with shells of a higher caliber at 0355. The fiercest attack took place this morning, at [time indistinct], on the village of Slatina, the first village on the border with Prozor commune. The village of Krstac on the slopes of the Mount Prenj was also shelled."

The report adds: "According to the available information, the HVO is bringing in more troops and military equipment to the Jablanica border area from Prozor. The situation is not calming down. Salvos are still reverberating. The explosion of unreasonable moves by the HVO toward Jablanica is still gaining in intensity."

The report goes on to say that "members of the Armed Forces of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Jablanica and all of its citizens are ready to respond to every attack and resolutely defend its citizens regardless of their political and national affiliations."

The Gorazde Press Center reports that "Chetniks yesterday tried to launch an infantry attack from the direction of Foca on the right bank of the Drina River, but the fighters of the First Brigade and the 31st Brigade repelled the Chetnik attack with an effective action. The civilian population and refugees in the Gorazde region are subjected to constant shelling by the criminals. Three civilians were wounded yesterday alone. Several residential buildings were destroyed. The widespread hunger in this region is taking its toll. The appeals issued by the official local organs appear to be falling on deaf ears. Therefore, we from Gorazde again appeal to the UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees], UNPROFOR, and the International Red Cross, and all other humanitarian organizations to urgently sent aid in food and medicines to the suffering people and refugees in Gorazde. It will be too late tomorrow."

'Aggressor' Steps Up Attacks on Srebrenica

AU1604065693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 16 Apr 93

[Text] Chetniks are using fresh forces to attack the besieged town of Srebrenica from the south, east, and north sectors. Chetniks were ordered to target people, (?flesh)—that is, civilians—as much as they can. This is the order issued by the aggressor. In their stepped-up attacks, commanders are urging the Chetniks on all parts of the front to break the Srebrenica defensive lines as soon as possible. In the heavy, unequal fighting, our fighters are heroically resisting the more superior aggressor, above all (?with skillful) maneuvers.

Shelling of Srebrenica, Maglaj, Olovo Reported

AU1504190193

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 15 April reports more fighting in the republic:

"Reinforced and refreshed by new troops from Serbia and the occupied territories of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Chetnik troops have been pressing strongly against the eastern and southeastern lines of defense of Srebrenica throughout the day," a report by the press center of Srebrenica commune claims. As reported, "the aggressor's infantry troops, supported by the armored-mechanized units, are charging from the direction of Zeleni Jadro." "The positions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army in (?Ljubisarci) are also pounded by mortars and tanks from Turija, (?Ljutnicko Brdo), and Zeleno Jadro," the report says, adding that a multiple rocket launcher in (?Mitrovca), Serbia, is providing its "unselfish support" in the attacks. According to the report, members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army "are successfully resisting the aggressor's charges for the time being." It is further reported that "a recoiless gun in Caus," which has been pounding Potocari, killed three civilians. After "fierce shelling" this morning, the "aggressor's infantry started attacking the lines of defense in the region of (?Breceve)," the report says. "The fighting continues, and there are dead and injured on both sides," the report says, adding that "the aggressor is attacking "the free territory in direct vicinity of the town" by tanks and howitzers from Pribicevac, (Ljutnicko Brdo) and Zeleno Jadro.

Correspondent from Gorazde Enes Musovic says that "11 people died of hunger on the territory of Gorazde district today, of which five were children under five years of age." He adds that three civilians were killed and two wounded in long-range artillery shelling of the area. He reports the continued shortage of food in the town, and concludes that "hunger is the ultimate Chetnik weapon against the innocent civilians here."

Correspondent from Olovo Velid Djindjo says that "the occupier's artillery today continue to destroy the civilian installations in the town and the nearby villages." As he reports, 155-mm howitzers and mortars are used in this undertaking.

"Chetniks today continued to fiercely attack the positions of our defenders in (?Novo Selo) part of the front," correspondent from Maglaj Hajrudin Permic reports. He also reports shelling of Novi Seher, in which one person was killed. "Our observers report new concentration of enemy troops in their strongholds around Novi Seher," Permic says.

Muslims Attack Serbs in North, Central

LD1504183693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1538 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Banja Luka, April 15 (TANJUG)—Moslem formations on Thursday launched heavy attacks on the battlefronts in northern Bosnia, Bosnian Serb military sources have said.

Moslem forces opened heavy mortar and small arms fire on the Bosnian Serb positions around Doboj, a town in central Bosnia, the first Krajina corps of the Bosnian Serb army said.

Bosnian Serb troops successfully repelled Moslem attacks which, according to the statement, continued on Thursday afternoon.

Moslem forces used antiaircraft guns, infantry weapons and Malyutka rockets.

Bosnian Serb positions near Teslic, northern Bosnia, were also shelled on Thursday, the statement said. The Serb side did not return fire and had no losses, it said.

On the Trebava battlefront, northeast of Doboj, Moslem forces continued attacking Serb villages by infantry weapons, and hand- launched rockets and mortars, the same source said.

In the night of April 14-15, the Moslem army opened sporadic small arms fire on the Bosnian Serb defence positions in Blazevac and Avramovina in the Posavina region, near the Croatian border, the same source said.

Muslim Attack on Croat Areas Reported

LD1504144993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Attacks on Croat villages in the Konjic municipality launched first on the village of (?Buscak) yesterday morning by Muslim forces, have evolved into an all-out assault on Croat villages in the river (Neretvica Valley).

Muslims are pounding the (Falanovo Brdo) Hill, Kostajnica, the (Buturovic Polje) field, and [word indistinct] with heavy artillery fire.

Muslim forces took the village of (?Buscak) yesterday. There is a large number of wounded and captured Croats in the village. Muslims are not allowing medical vehicles enter the village. They banned Red Cross officials and EC observers from entering the conflict areas yesterday.

The Defense Department of the Croat Defense Council has called on the command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to end attacks, because it will be forced to use all available means to protect the Croat population in the endangered area.

Croats Launch Attack on Muslims in Jablanica

AU1504190093 Paris AFP in English 1845 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Sarajevo, April 15 (AFP) - Bosnian Croat forces launched an artillery attack Thursday on Moslem positions on the road from Sarajevo to Mostar in the south, U.N. officials said.

The Croat forces—interrupting months of uneasy cohabitation with their nominal Moslem allies—fired more than 50 shells on Jablanica, a strategic crossroads town

with a Moslem majority, U.N. Protection Force spokesman Bill Karaktin said.

The shelling of the town started at 12:15 p.m. and was reported continuing in the area later in the afternoon, with all roads in the area blocked.

Earlier Thursday, the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) reported that tension building in recent days between Moslems and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina exploded into combat Wednesday between Croat forces and the mainly Moslem Bosnian army.

Spokesman Barry Frewer said the fighting took place near Jablanica.

Frewer said he had no details of any casualties in the fighting near Jablanica, where Sarajevo's electricity is generated, but said the Spanish U.N. battalion in the area was trying to get commanders of the two forces together in a bid to reach a local cease-fire agreement.

He said the fighting took place near the small town of Ostrozac, a few kilometres (miles) north of Jablanica, and that a road in that area was reported to have been mined.

* AL-HAYAH Reporter Detained by Croats

93AE0457A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
2 Apr 93 pp 1, 4

[Article by As'ad Taha: "AL-HAYAH Reporter Spends Night in Croatian Kiseljak Detention Camp Because He Is Muslim; Ghost of New War Between Muslims and Their Croatian Allies"]

[Text] Kiseljak Detention Camp—Treaties and accords between higher Muslim and Croatian leaders in Bosnia-Herzegovina remain mere ink on paper, unless they receive the support of the field commanders who control course of the developments. A person who makes a tour of the actual ground can conclude that the two nominally "allied" parties are no longer interested in completing the course of their joint life.

On the Croatian side, the idea of the Herceg-Bosna (the entity proclaimed unilaterally in the southwestern part of Bosnia-Herzegovina) has gained control of the Croatian citizen's conscience and ideas versus his Muslim counterpart, who reiterates day and night that "we will never forget and will never be able to forget," meaning by this not only the large-scale massacres perpetrated by the Serbs against him but also the hardship he is enduring on the hands of the Croatian side currently.

From Ljubuski, a border point between Bosnia-Herzegovena and Croatia, through Mostar, the central Bosnian towns, and Visko, and ending with Tuzla, one can record numerous scenes that have serious indications and that foretell, regrettably, of an inevitable war between the Muslims and the Croats, who insist on flying the Croatian flag over the military observation units that are deployed along internal routes and roads against Muslim observation points, which fly Bosnian flags, and Muslim troops who, wearing tattered clothes, often stand on exposed terrain, facing the cruelty of falling snows.

Our troubles begin at the border. The AL-HAYAH reporter was detained for several hours of interrogation at the a military police building where a red car carrying the picture of (Enti Balovecci), founder of the first independent Croatian state, was parked.

After inquiries and the expression of surprise about the presence of a Muslim reporter here, the reporter, minus his bulletproof vest, was released. As for the vest, its release was postponed "until better circumstances develop."

Winter clouds, thick snows that block roads, destruction that is seen everywhere, and burnt buildings create a gloomy atmosphere until one reaches Jablanica in central Bosnia where the picture gets gloomier.

Mehmet (Morfat), a member of the Bosnian Parliament who represents the city and who took part in the latest parliamentary meeting in Zenica, said: "We have agreed to sign the peace proposals after they are amended, but we see no hope that these or other peaceful proposals will be crystallized." He added: "We will continue to fight and to prepare our ranks for a protracted war because our enemies understand nothing other than the language of force."

A child of no more than 10 years of age stood on the side of the road linking Jablanica and Kiseljak. She disregarded the tensions and the clashes between Muslims and Croats and stood facing UN vehicles going by, gesturing with her hand toward her mouth to say, "I want a peace of bread."

But the war machine is never satisfied and it never sleeps. The Croats have not been content with what the war has inflicted on them and on the Muslims, and they have rushed in an attempt to impose their control on the central towns of Bosnia that have a Muslim majority. Ultimately, these towns have begun to look very much like Berlin, divided by weakened walls that separate Muslim-controlled areas from Croat-controlled areas.

A Croatian checkpoint stopped our car. It dumped all the papers and clothes that were in the car in the middle of a road covered by a mixture of snow and mud resulting from the passage of tanks over it. It was then decided to detain all Muslims in the car, including the AL-HAYAH reporter, without giving any reasons. My companion, a Muslim commander of the Croatian Defense Council forces in Gradacac area, tried to persuade the troops that he belongs to their forces, but to no avail. When this failed, he told them: "I am a member of the Bosnian parliament." One of the soldiers responded: "This is the parliament of a state that has ended forever."

Nearly a quarter of a kilogram of press documents and cards, including permits from the Croatian Defense Council permitting me to move freely in the Bosnia-Herzegovina, could not intercede on my behalf. The soldiers did not stop their rough treatment and they lodged me in an extremely cold prison cell after confiscating what money I had, promising to return it to me later.

The only thing that bothered me was a piece of information to the effect that Croats in this area arrest Muslims daily and then barter them at times for Croatian prisoners who are held by the Serbians, who then barter these Muslims for Serb prisoners held by the Muslims. What I mean is that I was worried that I would one day be returned to the Muslims after having gone through torture camps.

To describe life in the Croatian detention camp would add nothing to the similar descriptions that have spread worldwide. However, I was not subjected to a severe beating. I later came to realize that I went through—and I had to go through—the part of Kiseljak controlled by the Croats.

I was released at noon the following day after a brief meeting with the Croatian commander of the Kiseljak district. They refused to tell me his name and the only thing I was told was that he had worked in Iraq in 1983-84. In a brief conversation, his words added further painful signs of what awaits the future relations between Croats and Muslims.

I asked him: "What do I, a reporter who is a stranger to the country, have to do with the conflicts that exist between the Muslims and Croats here?" He responded frankly and explicitly: "But you are a Muslim ultimately, and we consider every Muslim, even a foreign Muslim, who passes from here to their area to be a new rifle added to their ranks. I apologize for what has happened to you, but you have to accept it because we are at war with the Muslims."

I departed with the thought that he will not offer me his apology again on the return trip through his territory!

Claim of UN Approval of RSK Invasion Denied

LD1404223393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2146 GMT 14 Apr 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, April 14 (TANJUG)—UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] deputy chief of mission and director of civil affairs Cedric Thornberry denied Wednesday the claim set forth by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman that this former Yugoslav republic had the approval from the United Nations to establish authority in the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) by force.

Thornberry told newsmen after talking with RSK Prime Minister designate Djordje Bjegovic that Tudjman's claim was an absolute untruth.

The RSK is a territory of the former Yugoslavia, mostly populated by the Serbs, and was declared a UN Protected Area (UNPA) after the clashes between the Croatian Army, on the one side, the Krajina Serbs and the former Yugoslav Army, on the other, in the summer of 1991.

Croatia began aggression on the RSK on January 22 this year and has not halted it since, although the UN Security Council Resolution 802 ordered withdrawal of Croatian troops to the positions it held previously.

Thornberry replied positively when asked had Croatia, a UN member, through this aggression also occupied the UN itself.

Commenting the Resolution 815, Thornberry said UNPROFOR was not consulted concerning the final phrasing of this resolution and entering of Item 5, which said the RSK was an integral part of Croatia. He added that this was the stand of the UN Security Council.

Thornberry and Bjegovic discussed the possibility of realization of the agreement from Geneva on the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions 802 and 769. The second resolution pertained to the issues of control and immigration affairs. The Serb side was not prepared to accept fully its provisions. It believes this would mean "ghettoization" of the RSK population, as the population would be prevented from maintaining any contacts with the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

Tudjman Receives Churkin; Bosnia Discussed

LD1504184893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received Russian Federation special envoy Vitaliy Churkin in Zagreb this evening. Their talks focused on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and chances to find a solution on the basis of the Vance-Owen plan. They also discussed the UN-protected areas and the implementation of the Vance plan in the Republic of Croatia.

Churkin was accompanied at the meeting by Ambassador Leonid Kerestedzhiyants of the Russian Federation, while President Tudjman was accompanied by head of the Croatian president's office Jure Radic, Defense Minister Gojko Susak, Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo, and the Croatian president's adviser for foreign policy, Zeljko Matic.

Russian Supreme Soviet Delegation Meets Susak

LD1504114193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Today Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak received an 11-member delegation of the Russian Supreme Soviet headed by the Committee for International Affairs Chairman Yevgeniy Ambartsumov.

In the course of open talks, Minister Susak briefed the Russian guests about Croatia's position that the crisis in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina should be resolved by peaceful means and that there could be no peace in Croatia without a comprehensive solution to problems in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The head of the Russian delegation, Mr. Ambartsumov, was interested to learn about the negotiations between Croatia and representatives of local Serbs. Minister Susak said Croatia was interested in normalization of relations with rebel Serbs. But, he added, we shall never bring into question the territorial integrity of Croatia and the rule of republican constitution on the entire state territory.

Holds News Conference

LD1504135793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] The Russian delegation held a news conference in Zagreb. Our correspondent Andjelko Perincic was present:

[Perincic] Delegation head Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs, said at the news conference that he came with his colleagues to learn more about the crisis in former Yugoslavia and to help find solutions.

He added that the members of his delegation were unanimous, regardless of their political views, that an end had to be put to the hostilities on this territory and that a search for political solutions acceptable to all had to follow.

Three other delegation members answered questions at the news conference. They said they were not of the view that Serbia had attacked Bosnia-Herzegovina, and they reiterated that sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia could not yield the desired results. They cited examples of ineffectual sanctions against Iraq and Libya.

They also stressed that not only Serbia should be blamed for starting the hostilities. One member said that with the ascent of democratic authorities, Croatia adopted some regulations that allegedly threatened Serbs, and that this could have served as a reason for what happened in Croatia. He, however, did not specify what regulations he had in mind.

Delegation members also talked about the political situation in Russia. Different views were then expressed. While some supported Boris Yeltsin, others said his time was up, backing this with the information that more than half of all deputies voted against him at the latest session of the Russian congress.

Holds Talks With Serbs

LD1504210793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Report by correspondent Andjelko Perincic for Croatian Radio]

[Text] In the course of the second day of their visit to Croatia, a delegation of the Russian Parliament, following talks with representatives of opposition political parties in the Croatian Assembly, this afternoon had talks with representatives of the Serbs in Croatia on the political situation in our country. They heard an entire spectrum of views, but they all agree, as Croatian Assembly Vice President Milan Djukic [a Serb] said at the conclusion of the talks, that conflicts should be resolved in a peaceful way, while hostilities in Croatia should immediately be halted.

Among numerous views presented by the Serb side, we would like to single out the one saying that the main responsibility for the Greater Serbian aggression is borne by Slobodan Milosevic with his assistants: Karadzic in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Milan Martic in Croatia. Serbs in Croatia will always be Serbs, but they are citizens of Croatia. We do not wish to be Serbia's western battleground, nor Croatia's eastern battleground.

When the Croatian state speaks of the return of refugees to their homes, the Serb refugees should also be borne in mind, who for various reasons had to flee their homes. Moreover, it is necessary, in order to settle the conflicts in Croatia permanently, to reintegrate both the Serbs and the occupied areas in Croatia.

Please do whatever you can, Russian parliament members were told, so that the hostilities cease and negotiations on a permanent peace begin, but please do not take anybody's side in our crisis, be democratically orientated and neutral.

There were some sharper opinions among the participants on the Serb side regarding their position in Croatia; they presented facts regarding the blowing up of Serb houses, their decreasing percentage in the overall population in Croatia, and certain excesses toward Serbs who are loyal citizens of Croatia. They also appealed to the Russian parliament members who are to visit the UN protected areas, in Baranja and Knin, tomorrow to tell the Serbs there that it is high time true negotiations under democratic conditions began.

HVO Accuses B-H Army of Attacking Croats

AU1504114493 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Apr 93 p 8

[HINA report: "The Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina Attacked HVO Barracks"]

[Text] Mostar—The situation in the regions of Konjic and Jablanica is deteriorating again. This is stressed in a statement issued by the Defense Department of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia on Thursday.

The statement says that in the night between Wednesday and Thursday the units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina [BH Army] attacked barracks in the village of Seonice where HVO soldiers are stationed. The attack, conducted from the surrounding Muslim neighborhoods, started at 0130. The attackers opened fire with infantry weapons, rocket launchers, and so-called Zoljas [a type of rocket launcher]. The attack lasted approximately two hours, only to be resumed at about 0600. One HVO soldier was wounded. The statement stresses that the HVO units were ordered not to respond to the attack, an order which they observed.

"This event also shows that in the BH Army there are forces that cannot reconcile themselves to the normalization of the situation in the towns of Konjic and Jablanica, and that they are generally against good Muslim-Croatian relations," the HVO underlines, adding that it received announcements of similar attacks prior to Easter and on Easter itself. "We did not want to believe it, or reports of some clashes that had happened previously. However, in both cases the information, which contained even the dates of the attacks by BH Army units, turned out to be right.

"As he himself emphasizes in his statements for the public, Safet Cibo, who performs the so far nonexistent function of chairman of the war presidencies of Jablanica, Konjic, and Prozor, has been appointed by the legal authorities of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is to say by the Presidency, which we, however, further consider to be illegitimate.

"We recall once again that our goal is the peaceful solution proposed by Vance and Owen, but we are able to respond properly to any attack from wherever it may come," it is underlined in the HVO Defense Department statement.

Serbs Close to 'Acheiving Their Goal'

LD1504131593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1029 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] internal affairs minister Milan Martic is cited in today's issue of VECERNJA NOVOSTI as saying that "Serbs have never been closer to achieving their goal."

According to Martic, this is the reason why "world powers are in such a hurry, and why such enormous pressure is being put on the Serbs in Krajina, in the Serb republic, and in Serbia, although Serbia is not interfering in the war."

"They want Serbia to leave us in the lurch, to die from hunger, so that Tudjman can stroll through Knin," Martic said adding: "These plans will never be realized, and the Croatian flag will never be hoisted on the Knin fortress as long as there are Serbs in Krajina."

Martic stressed, "Krajina Serbs can resist the well-organized Ustasha state and prevent a fresh genocide only if they are united."

According to him, the main objective has been achieved: "The defense of western borders of Serbdom and the survival of Serbs in Krajina."

Martic stated that 72 members of the Krajina police have been killed and 152 seriously wounded since Croatia launched its aggression against Krajina on 22 January.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Canada

LD1504195393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] The Croatian Foreign Ministry today disclosed that the Republic of Croatia and Canada established diplomatic relations yesterday [14 April].

Regionalism Supporting Croatia's Disintegration

93BA0838C Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 93 p 15

[Article by Josip Jovic: "The Federalization of Croatia"]

[Text] *Is it really by chance that the suddenly awakened "regionalisms" are appearing precisely during the months and years of a battle for survival? What is happening is that the same intellectual milieu that is disintegrating Croatia materially is now demagogically citing that disintegration as an argument against it—today in the name of "regional" interests.*

Regionalism is one of those typical concepts that count on a lack of curiosity, allegedly because of general, European trends, but under it, every one thinks his own way and pushes for his own policy. From the innocent definition of "nurturing special characteristics," regionalism is easily transposed to federalism and confederalism. It seems that it is constantly necessary to remind people that Croatia is at war right now, and moreover a war for its territorial integrity, for its external and internationally recognized borders, and now, coming out under such conditions with the thesis of "federalization" does not mean anything but advocating its disintegration. In that political concept, the idea of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" becomes completely legitimate. Why not?

"Your own money in your own pocket," however, is one of those slogans brandished by the ideologues of "regionalism," thus sending the simplest messages to the voters and gaining their sympathies on its account. It is easily accepted in both Istria and Medjimurje, and also in Dalmatia, even though with their own money, those regions could not even maintain their own educational or health care systems. The peaceful areas of Croatia can say, "Well, we liberated ourselves," thinking about the several abandoned Yugoslav Army barracks, while they have an almost neutral attitude toward the war that Croatia is waging, as if it were a war being waged by some other state. Emphasizing special characteristics may be a response to the imposition of monolithism, but monolithism can also be a reaction to a threat to integrity.

Is it really by chance that the abruptly awakened "nationalisms" are appearing precisely during the months and years of a battle for survival? Historical reminiscences are inevitable, just as historical trends continue almost indestructibly. Croatia is the only one that is not questioning its borders with its neighbors, but it is always blamed anyway for the deterioration in relations with Italy, Slovenia, Bosnia (and sometimes even Serbia). But did you notice how it was not just the Italian fascists that rejoiced at the defeat of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] as a "nationalist" party in Istria, and even in Medjimurje, but instead that joy, and almost triumph, could not even be concealed in newspaper reports about the Croatian elections? Why? Obviously part of the Italian public and politics sees a chance for itself in this. Ivan Pauletta talks about "imposed Croatianism" and "people who have renounced some sort of Croatianism of their own out of spite. How can anyone renounce his own nationality out of spite?

A Europe of regions, and not a Europe of nations! That is the cry that is heard most often from people who have replaced their ideology of Yugoslav internationalism with the ideology of European regionalism. I wonder, however, how the French, Germans, or Italians would behave if their state were territorially threatened, if it were at war, and if one of their regions tried to split off and link itself regardless of the state borders with other states and regions?

The problem of regional or county autonomy should by no means be underestimated. In any case, the centralization of all state functions is not welcome. On the contrary, any such attempt always boomerangs. A law on local self-government is being prepared, and proposals from the field should be heard with open eyes and ears. But then why would some region, any one except those in which the Serbs constitute a majority, have some special status, different from the status of the rest? President Tudjman's recent meeting with representatives of the IDS [Istrian Democratic Alliance] showed how a lot of this can easily be agreed upon, and how disagreements are often a consequence of prejudices, misunderstanding, and a lack of information. It was not long, however, before different voices and a different faction appeared from that same IDS, a faction for which renouncing the transregional idea is a betrayal of the party's main principle, and the description of the HDZ and the IDS as sister parties is staggering. In order to understand better the ideological platform of this other faction, which is most faithfully reflected by the abovementioned Pauletta, let us cite some other positions of his, expressed during an interview. He said, answering an explicit question, that he did not regret Yugoslavia, but he immediately continued by correcting himself: "I regret all the communities that have been destroyed, because I cannot make the interpretation that Croatia should enter Europe, but at the same time leave some other community." Even after the first elections in Croatia, he stated for Belgrade's NIN: "Even if Istria was in Yugoslavia, that does not mean that it has to be in Croatia." Now he is adding that states pass, but Istria remains. His concept is that a whole and autonomous Istria, without borders, cannot represent anything but an interstate region and the questioning of the existing state borders.

The Dalmatian advocates of autonomy are more clever. They are currently working on the slogan "Zagreb = Belgrade." Taken to an extreme, that means that if we freed ourselves from Belgrade, we should also free ourselves from Zagreb. Naturally, the Croatian authorities cannot perceive Croats as the Belgrade rulers do, nor can the Croatian people perceive their own authorities as they perceived Belgrade, so the inspirers of such slogans, using every opportunity to create hatred and envy of our capital, can only be those whom Belgrade did not bother at all. It is easy, however, to play on the thin strings of dissatisfaction when life is hard. In that situation, the isolation of Dalmatia with respect to transportation and electricity will be welcome, especially when the responsible ministers do not even feel it to be their duty to give any coherent explanation, and instead frighten people with nuclear power plants. In the dark, it can easily be overlooked that this situation is a consequence of the systematic policy for several decades of breaking up Croatia and placing it in a position of dependence. It is thus actually happening that the same intellectual milieu that materially disintegrated Croatia is now demagogically citing that disintegration as an argument against it—today in the name of "regional" interests.

UNPROFOR Mandate Extension Request Analyzed

93BA0838B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 93 p 18

[Article by Zvonko Lerotic: "Who Is Out of His Depth"]

[Text] In a dramatic tone, Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoslav Kontic is asking Butrus-Ghali and the Security Council to extend UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] mandate in Croatia for another 12 months. "It is obvious," he wrote in his letter of 16 March 1993, "how the presence of the UN forces is more essential today than a year ago." Somewhat more than a year ago, Bosnia-Herzegovina requested international recognition and conducted a referendum on it, at the EC's request. After Bosnia-Herzegovina requested recognition, Belgrade decided to start a war of conquest in that Republic, in order to block its independence. For that purpose, the war in Croatia had to be ended, because Serbia cannot wage a war on two fronts. That is why Belgrade agreed to UNPROFOR, removed Babic, and brought in puppets from outside Knin to rule over the rebel Serbs.

In every passage in his letter, Kontic repeatedly strengthens his demand that UNPROFOR's mandate be extended for one more year by claims that without this another war will start in Croatia, and that UNPROFOR is becoming a vital factor in creating the conditions for achieving a political solution, etc. The real reasons lie in military strategy. The war goals in Bosnia-Herzegovina have not been achieved, and Butrus-Ghali, the United States, and even Mitterrand are announcing the sending of strong international forces to Bosnia-Herzegovina unless Karadzic signs the Vance-Owen plan. If he signs, however, the same forces would compel him to implement that plan. During that time, a front must not be opened in Croatia, because that would be catastrophic for the rebel Serbs and for the Greater-Serbian goals of conquest.

An equally important reason for the Yugoslav request for an extension of the mandate is the actual situation in the occupied areas in Croatia. The situation was best described by the municipal chief in Beli Manastir, Borivoje Zivanovic. "Because of the war turmoil, the inhabitants of Beli Manastir, Darda, and Belje," he says, "areas of abundant natural riches, are almost starving today." Here are just a few of the pictures that his words reveal to us. "Crime, murders, robberies, and thefts are part of everyday life," he said, and continued, "We have developed the farming, vineyard, and livestock industries, but in the present conditions everything has been brought to the brink." "Raw materials are even 10 times more expensive than before; people are simply surviving from one day to the next, and anxiously waiting for everything to assume more normal trends."

Kontic is aware that the fulfilled purpose of the Serbian rebellion is life on the brink of starvation and survival, and that it cannot be a motive for the Serbian masses to rise against the Croatian state again. War criminals,

robbers, and thugs, finally, remain the military mainstay of the Serbian ringleaders in the occupied part of Croatia. The attempt by the authorities in Serbia proper and their Yugoslav puppets to use UNPROFOR to guard the hungry and deceived people is aimed at destabilizing Croatia as much as possible, in order to weaken its influence not only in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also internationally in particular. Their ultimate goal is to achieve territorial concessions under the sponsorship and protection of UNPROFOR.

Since Yugoslav-Serbian negotiating strength is growing weaker, especially after the sharp conflict between Mitterrand and Milosevic, the representatives of the EC and the UN are trying to take as much advantage of it as possible. That is also being perceived in the Geneva negotiations. Although the local Serbs from Knin are insisting on strict implementation of Resolution 802, which combines withdrawal of the Croatian Army, the disarmament of all the UNPA [UN Protected Area], and the opening of Maslenica, the EC mediators in the negotiations want to take those elements as the starting point of a program that would lead to the integration of all the UNPA areas into the Croatian constitutional and legal system. Sometimes they seek considerable concessions from the Croatian side, and shortly thereafter try to find a solution in which the Boban-Vance-Owen model would be a paradigm for resolving Maslenica and the whole set of pink and UNPA zones as well. In this whole new situation, UNPROFOR's representatives seem to be out of their depth, and to be barely waiting to leave for home. The Security Council, their spokesmen say, will strengthen UNPROFOR's mandate in Croatia, but the representatives of the peacekeeping forces claim that they are not even strong enough for this present situation, especially since they are becoming "clay pigeons" for the Serbian rebels.

Tuzla Commander Cuts Electricity to Dalmatia

93BA0853A Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 93 pp 7-8

[Article by Zeljko Rogosic, Split editor of GLOBUS: "Alija Alihodzic, Bandit Leader in Tuzla, Has Cut Off Power to Dalmatia!"]

[Text] The second phase of electric power cutbacks is being carried out in Dalmatia. The shortage of power has left many households without water as well: It will not be possible to use freezers and refrigerators, and TV broadcasting will end at 2300 hours. Which will not be any loss, many comment, because Croatian TV, which published the first information about commencement of the drastic cutbacks in Dalmatia on 8 March in the 25th minute of the evening news, is no particular source of information. Those who watch television more closely recall with a few juicy remarks that the two-day interruption of heating in Zagreb was a media hit on all the news broadcasts.

In a week, 21-hour daily blackouts are expected. Production has already been stopped entirely in six large systems: Dalmacija in Dugi Rat, Dalmacijacement, the Kastel Steel Mill, INA-Vinil in Split, and TLM and Ferolegure in Sibenik. The loss because export programs contracted for cannot be fulfilled is already being estimated in hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Daily electric power consumption for all of Dalmatia must be reduced to 3.1 million kilowatt-hours [kWh], which is only a third of Dalmatia's needs, and the trend is downward to two million kWh. Peruca Lake has been completely emptied, and the water necessary for even this reduced operation of hydroplants [HE] is coming from the natural flow of the Centina, from Busko Blato, to which we should add half a million kWh from Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Dalmatia, there are daily demands for Dr. Franjo Kajfez, the minister responsible for this sector, to step down from the government. The tardy decisions to purchase ships which are floating power plants in the Croatian Electric Power Industry [HEP] are attributed to "political spheres." Only a sky providing abundant rain and construction of a thermal electric power plant [TE] as the only lasting solution can save Dalmatia from an endless energy collapse.

The Call for Medicine Men

Croatian energy policy has been so much oriented toward "calling for rain" that all that is left is for the HEP to hire an Indian medicine man in the region of Dalmatia.

In Dalmatia, there are more and more people with each passing day who perceive the tardy program of the Croatian Government to soften the electric power collapse as a tacit response, even punishment, for having refused in a plebiscite construction of the 350-MW thermal electric power plant fired with imported coal, at the same time rejecting any thought of building a nuclear plant [NE] in this tourist region. In the opinion of certain political parties, a sense of guilt for the lack of power is being systematically instilled in the public. And they do not have power because they rejected the idea of building a TE located on the Adriatic coast between Zadar and Sibenik. When we know that a few years ago the HEP had a plan to build a TE with a capacity twice 350 MW, while now the talk is about a TE with a capacity of 350 MW, which could be built as a salvation only in five to six years, there is good reason to put the question: Why is the HEP so certain and decided about the construction of this project when the government does not have any money even for certain cheaper solutions? From what sources will the HEP finance construction of the thermal electric power plant with imported coal, and how will it respond to the direct offers for that purpose which are arriving from abroad?

Specifically, can the HEP announce publicly that it responded to the offer, so far unknown to our public, from Ansaldo, a corporation for industry and energy in

Milan, which last summer offered the HEP joint construction of a thermal electric power plant, on our side of the Adriatic, of course?

Busko Blato Is Also Emptying

Will Croatia, given the general financial crisis, perhaps turn to such investments of Italian capital on the Adriatic coast and thus, by renting out the coast, solve the problem of building the TE and the urgent energy problem?

And while Dalmatia is sinking deeper and deeper into the darkness, at the HEP they are ready even now to submit to the government five satisfactory offers over the total of 20 that have arrived for mobile power plants, which, quite understandably, are not thought to be a good solution in its program. They say that 15 diesel power plants are equal to the effect of one thermal electric power plant. Now, the HEP is even ready to buy the diesel power plants if the government asks it to. The price at the bus of the power plant, we were told by Eng. Vojmir Dvornik, director of Elektroprijenos of Split, is between 12 and 18 cents, the setup period is between a month and a half and three months. All of this is a purchase, for cash or leasing, for which the HEP itself cannot pay. Does that mean that the destiny of Dalmatia over the next three months is really to live in the darkness, with inconsiderable amounts of power from Busko Blato?

That storage reservoir now has only one-sixth of its total possible volume of water, enough to generate 150 million kWh. By way of comparison, Dalmatia needs between eight and a half and nine million kWh per day for full operation of industrial machinery and normal life. Without the cutbacks, Busko Blato could keep things going for two weeks at the most.

Letter of Intent for Bosnian Power

The only solution to save Dalmatia is to import power from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most important question then is this: Why has the agreement between the HEP and the B-H Electric Power Industry [B-HEP], timidly defined in the letter of intent already mentioned between those public firms on 16 February 1993, not been implemented? Talks between representatives of those two public electric power firms of the two states began in Hotel Marijan in Split back in October 1992, but the agreed 60 million kWh in the first two months of this year still have not reached Dalmatia. Why has the B-H Electric Power Industry not started up the Tuzla TE and Kakanj TE?

There are no technical obstacles to the transmission of electric power from Herzegovina and central Bosnia. Contradictory reports of breaks and breakdowns on long-distance transmission lines and machinery on the so-called eastern branch of the power ring in the direction of Mostar and beyond to Tuzla are usually a screen to cover the real problems. Although with difficulties caused by Chetnik destruction, all the long-distance transmission lines can serve their purpose: The HEP, that is, has invested $24 million to repair the destroyed transmission lines, says Engineer Dvornik, and the personnel of the HEP deserve every praise and recognition.

Help has been arriving from hydroplants on the territory of Herzegovina, Croatia, and Dalmatia, especially during July, August, and September 1992. Six powerful hydroplants on the Neretva watershed (Rama, Jablanica, Grabovica, Salakovac, Mostar, and Mostarsko Blato), with a total installed capacity of 788 MW and an average annual output of 2,961 gigawatt-hours [GWh], along with the Capljina HE on the watershed of the Trebisnica, constitute an exceptional power potential. The difficulties, however, began when the storage reservoirs of those power plants, Lake Jablanica first of all, were emptied because of the drought, and problems also arose with the immense Rama storage reservoir, while two power-generating units of the Rama HE were damaged.

Soon, one unit of the Rama HE will go on line, and Dalmatia and Herzegovina will be able to get two million kWh a day, which will not moderate to any considerable extent the power cutbacks in Dalmatia.

Dalmatian Power to Herzegovina

In the last two and a half months, 65 million kWh of electric power have gone from Croatia, from the Busko Blato storage reservoir, which is on the soil of B-H, to Bosnia and Herzegovina instead of being consumed, as was usual, in Dalmatia. Up to 8 March, when the cutbacks began in Dalmatia, about two million kWh a day went to B-H from Busko Blato.

"In Herceg-Bosnia 2.2 million kWh a day were consumed, which is more than before the war. The problem is that no one in Herceg-Bosnia is paying for power, so that there is no reproduction in the generation of electric power," says Engineer Dvornik. "We are now threatened by a disintegration of the system, and in Herceg-Bosnia we have instituted 30-percent cutbacks on consumption of electric power. In that kind of situation, not even the Aluminum Combine in Mostar is still operating," says Dr. Jadranko Prlic, prime minister of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council].

Even the Jablanica storage reservoir has been almost completely emptied. Lake Jablanica, that is, the Jablanica HE, is every day delivering between two and two and a half million kWh to central Bosnia, all the way to Zenica, over the 220-kv long-distance transmission line. Although Jablanica belongs to the Neretva watershed, and is nominally within the public firm Elektroprivreda Herceg-Bosne [Herceg-Bosnia EP], the Muslims in Jablanica, without any agreement whatsoever with Mostar, have been delivering the power to central Bosnia. Power from Jablanica is even reaching Sarajevo.

Although the energy situation is extremely difficult even in central Bosnia, because the Kakanj TE and Tuzla TE are not operating (there is power only two to three hours per day), it is more than obvious that it is a political disagreement that is involved here.

Rebellion at Jablanica

"The supply from Jablanica has been in token amounts in recent months. Contacts with Jablanica are difficult, because for political reasons the Muslims there do not recognize our public enterprise," says Eng. Mato Jurkovic, general director of Herceg-Bosnia EP.

Unless the case of Jablanica is solved satisfactorily, the entire electric power system of Dalmatia and Herzegovina will break down. Under those conditions, the Rama storage reservoir will become more important, but there is really no solution without putting the Kakanj TE and Tuzla TE on line. In the situation in which the Mostar HE I and II and Salakovac HE are under constant Chetnik attack, and when the Muslims from Jablanica are delivering power only to central Bosnia, an agreement about Jablanica obviously will have to be achieved through political negotiations.

In Herceg-Bosnia, people are infuriated by the fact that the HEP is no longer in contact with them, and they are protesting certain provisions of the letter of intent of the HEP and B-HEP, which was signed by Ivan Putanec, M.A., and Eng. Edhem Bicakcic. That is, in Points 2 and 4 of that letter of intent, the B-HEP and HEP "recognize each other's jurisdiction over the business operation and control of the electric power system of their respective states." Also, "the HEP and B-HEP will do the economic and financial accounting on the basis of total delivery and exchange of electric power at the level of the public firms B-HEP and HEP...." This indirectly means that the HEP has denied legitimacy of the Herceg-Bosnia EP.

In any case, political issues have proven to be the main reason for the slow reaching of an agreement and realization of exports of power from Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia. Although Eng. Hakija Hasanbegovic, chief representative of the B-HEP in the office in Zagreb, did not wish to confirm that conclusion, the question of the price of power and the address to which the HEP will make payment for all its prior debts has obviously had the result of sometimes a blockade and sometimes foot-dragging in the painful negotiations.

Who Owes Whom?

The letter of intent dated 16 February contains an agreement that 790 million kWh had been delivered in 1992 from the system of the B-HEP to the system of the HEP, for which the Bosnian side had in fact sent a bill. Is the Croatian debt the reason why the B-HEP still has not fulfilled the obligation of putting Tuzla and Kakanj on line?

At the HEP, Engineer Dvornik says that all debts have been paid on time, including the cost of the power delivered, but also costs of oil, explosives, and chemicals for operation of mines and thermal electric power plants. Eng. Hakija Hasanbegovic says that the entire debt has not been paid. Eng. Mato Jurkovic of the Herceg-Bosnia EP says that since April of last year the HEP has paid $4 million or guaranteed repair of damaged electric power facilities. "The debts have been paid as far as we are concerned, and the HEP has signed or furnished advances for another 7 million German marks [DM] for work which is under way."

Nor, they say in Split, is there a problem about the $2 million which the B-HEP requested for start-up costs at the Kakanj and Tuzla coal mines and thermal electric power plants. For example, Dalmacija of Dugi Rat is immediately ready to pay that amount, because cessation of its production has jeopardized export plans worth $35 million. "To start up two power-generating units, one at Tuzla and one at Kakanj, 120,000 metric tons of coal per month and DM3.5 million have to be furnished and the costs of generating electric power covered. Every month it will be necessary to set aside between DM8 and 9 million," says Eng. Vojmir Dvornik.

If the HEP is ready to pay that, why are Tuzla and Kakanj not on line? Why are the 1.56 billion kWh of electric power, called for by the letter of intent, not being delivered from B-H in 1993? The business executives are confused, just like representatives of the B-H Economic Chamber in Split, Franjo Petricevic and Mustafa Poljarevic.

There Is No Power at Zenica Either

While waiting for a justification from Rusmir Mahmutcahajic, Bosnia-Herzegovina deputy prime minister, we managed to learn the following: The Tuzla TE I and II, which are capable of producing 460 million kWh a month, were built with 60-percent Croatian capital. The Kakanj TE has a fantastic 578 MW of installed capacity and was the focal point for evening out the electric power system of the entire former Yugoslavia. This is the most flexible electric power complex, because it has many units, three with a capacity of 32 MW, two with a capacity of 110 MW, and one with a capacity of 230 MW.

Along with three large coal mines, Kakanj, Breza, and Zenica, the Tuzla mine, in a Muslim province under the Vance-Owen plan, is an outright energy giant. The Kakanj mine alone, says Franjo Petricevic, previously its director, mined between 5,000 and 6,000 tons of coal a month, and a record 2 million tons in one year.

Obviously, the immediate rescue for Dalmatia, and possibly even lasting solution when the war ends, is not a new thermal electric power plant, nor ships which are floating power plants, but joint Croatian-Bosnian investment and use of at least one-tenth of what the central section of Bosnia and Herzegovina possesses. The Kakanj TE is connected to Jablanica and Mostar by 400- and 220-kv long-distance transmission lines via Prozor. Nor have the transmission lines from Tuzla, via Kladanj and Olovo, been demolished, although they are in the zone of war operations. Although in all of central Bosnia there is power for general use only a few hours a day, the

Kakanj TE is operating with only one 32-MW unit in what is called hot mode. The present needs of central Bosnia, threatened with war, do not exceed 25 million kWh a month, because formerly the Zenica Steel Mill alone consumed more than 100 million kWh.

So that these mines and thermal electric power plants might be put into operation, the B-HEP has asked for $2 million, which includes salaries for 5,000 miners. The HEP is also providing fuel for furnaces and production supplies and acids and dynamite in the mines. The miners expect oil, sugar, flour, and potatoes. Perhaps the need for 5,000 workers is exaggerated (mining specialists say that between 2,000 and 3,000 are sufficient), but it seems that Croatia is now willing to pay all that. Nor is petroleum a problem. At this point, so much petroleum intended for Bosnia-Herzegovina has arrived as humanitarian aid at Ploce that several ships from Saudi Arabia and Iran turned back with their tanks full, unwilling to unload the petroleum at Krk.

Kakanj Is Refusing Power for Croatia

"If I were in the place of the HEP, I would immediately lease one 230-MW unit at Kakanj," says Mustafa Poljarevic. Kakanj, with 130 MW, would immediately cover the area of Dubrovnik with three million kWh of daily consumption, or half of Dalmatia on a reduced program. "The capacity of Tuzla, Kakanj, and the Neretva watershed could deliver at least 150 to 200 million kWh to Dalmatia per month," says Hakija Hasanbegovic.

But Kakanj and Tuzla are not putting their units on line. Does the problem lie in the price per kilowatt established for 1993?

Officially, it is a question of "inertia," of "the large number of outstanding issues." Actually, it is a matter of politics. Eng. Anto Dundic, director of the brown coal mine at Kakanj, when asked when Kakanj would begin production, wished to say only this: "Only after certain political and technological prerequisites are met in this area."

A few days ago, Engineer Bicakcic, general director of the B-HEP, made a secret visit to Zagreb. Even after all the details were agreed on, the B-HEP informed the HEP in a letter that one unit each would go on line at Tuzla and Kakanj only in early April. The B-HEP and B-H Government, it seems, cannot force those responsible in that region to begin to generate power for Croatia. Neither Croatian money nor additional incentives nor orders from Sarajevo are any help. "No one there pays attention nor does anything without local leaders of the SDA [Democratic Action Party]," we were told by one of our informants. All the orders to shut down the mines and thermal electric power plants come from Zenica, where the decisions are made by Alija Alihodzic, director of Investiciona Banka [Investment Bank]. Allegedly, it is on his orders that the production of electric power must be "brought into line with the war plan."

Zadar Citizens Question Maslenica Operation Results

93BA0848A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 pp 20-21

[Article by Zeljko Luburovic: "Zadar Is Not an Island"]

[Text] No sooner was the repair made on the section of the long-distance power transmission line over which Zadar receives electric power from Bilice near Sibenik than the people of Zadar enthusiastically rushed to their cafes to drink their favorite espresso or makijato after a long period of time. Finding myself in the same situation, I took a seat in the Ankara Pizzeria, which is just above the Vrulje spring. The pizzeria is in the Vruljica Park, almost in the center of the city, not far from the Zadar Marina. The spring which comes out of the ground here is the only hope of water supply for the people of Zadar, at least until the Golubinka water supply line is completed. That very day, it was Saturday, the people of Zadar were told over the local radio station that one-half of the city would take water from Vrulje every other day. That was better than it was up through Friday. Then, a certain section of the city had water every third day. But on Saturday the people of Zadar were also told that they should boil the water from Vrulje before use!

In the dark, without water, and under daily shelling, it is difficult to explain to the people of Zadar that Dalmatia is sharing the destiny of all Croatia, as President Tudjman said that Saturday when it was announced that Zadar would take water from Vrulje. But Zadar has moreover been living for almost a year in isolation not only with respect to water supply, but also transportation and power. It is still more difficult to explain this to the citizens of Zadar because they have deeply engraved in their memories a 10-minute segment on the most important daily news over Croatian TV, when a case of a possible interruption of heating in Zagreb, which was to last for only three days, was covered in dramatic terms. They will say that it never occurs to them to blame the people in Zagreb for this, but another reason they are dissatisfied with the treatment of Zadar over Croatian TV is that because of the increasingly frequent shortage of electric power they cannot watch its broadcasting normally, and many of them are said not to be paying their television subscriptions any longer.

The discontent of the people of Zadar today is not confined to Croatian TV. Their dissatisfaction is turning more and more toward the top government leadership in Croatia, because they believe that Zadar is something about which Croatia has forgotten. The people of Zadar are in principle doubtful about the ability of their local leaders. It seems that they are not overcontent with them. The citizens of one of the oldest Croatian cities and, as Dr. Franjo Tudjman once put it, the "pearl of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union]" accept that their destiny is partly the result of the insufficient effort of opcina politicians to persuade the rest of Croatia that by

a coincidence of wartime circumstances Zadar has become an island—almost forgotten. In their resentment, the citizens are inclined to say that the passivity of their opcina leaders is a consequence of their concern for their own gain. They tell how Domagoj Kero, former city prime minister, aimed his career at going to the embassy in Australia, that Ive Livljanic, former opcina president, applied his efforts to become ambassador to the Vatican, while they say of the present prime minister of Zadar that he supposedly has one foot in the embassy at the United Nations in New York.

Some people of Zadar are also disappointed with the limited range of Operation Maslenica. After all, after the first outburst of enthusiasm, today the people of Zadar are putting questions about its effectiveness. They will say that Zadar has not ceased to be the target of Serbian projectiles, that persons displaced because of wartime operations still cannot return, and the same is true with building the bridge at Maslenica. They say that the operation should have been carried to the end and sources of water and electric power that supplied Zadar before the occupation liberated. They say that it would have been necessary to advance only another 10 km or so. There is no question that such a penetration would literally have solved all the problems this Dalmatian city has had for the last two years. And the people of Zadar say that fighting men returning to the city from the battlefield say that the entire population has been evacuated from Obrovac, that it is now said to be a completely empty city. But on the road to Obrovac, according to the stories of the fighting men, there is a strong Chetnik fortification on an elevation overlooking that city. The lost cause of the communist megaproject known as the Jadral Alumina Factory once occupied that site. Having received news from the first line of the battlefield, the "well-informed," or even average person of Zadar does not hesitate to comment on military and political actions related to their city. They will thus say that the Chetniks have returned to their hands an important elevation overlooking Novi Grad, but also that they are still holding Razovljeva Glavica overlooking Skabrnje, which has the result that that village is no-man's-land at the moment. And when you realize that Gornji Zemunik is also held by the Chetniks, then the people of Zadar conclude: As long as that balance of power persists, it will not be possible to build the bridge at Maslenica, the air base at Zemunik will not be usable, nor will Zadar get water from the Zrmanja or electric power from the Obrovac pumped-storage hydroelectric power plant. Not even to mention agricultural work in that part of Ravni Kotari. Nor can the displaced persons return to their homes at present, and they are a visible burden on the city. But that does not mean that the displaced persons are a hated burden for the people of Zadar—on the contrary!

This city's isolation with respect to transportation is a story in itself. The highway which goes from Zagreb to Zadar is a third-class road which has become a main highway by force of circumstance. Traffic mainly travels the highway via Josipdol, Jezerane, and Senj to Prizna in the direction of the island Pag. If you set out for Zadar by bus, you will have to put up with frequent stops of the bus, because along most of the road a bus and tractor-trailer rig cannot pass. And several thousand tractor-trailer rigs travel that section every day. As to the quality of the asphalt of that highway, perhaps it would be best to ask the trucking companies, whose expenses in servicing vehicles have risen enormously on that account. But the bus lines are almost the only connection with Zadar. After all, Jadrolinija's ships, which docked in Zadar almost every day and maintained long-distance lines, now call at Zadar only twice a week. Because of the war, Zadar has also been left without its ship line to Ancona, which has been moved to Split, and without its airport, so it is a real wonder that people come to Zadar at all and leave it at all to go anywhere. Especially because any trip by the road interrupted by the sea near Pag, where five ferries have inserted their decks so that Dalmatia would nevertheless survive, is always a new risk. If a storm blows up—and sometimes storms blow for several days—you become captive to the isolation as to transportation. That is why after two years the people of Zadar are at the end of their tether, and their resentment is intensified every day by the death notices of their nearest and dearest who have been casualties in the war. Why, they ask, has the press contained no report about the number who died in the wartime operations around Zadar except for the death notices on city bulletin boards?

Perhaps the youngest have fared best in this whole story. After all, while anywhere else the use of Pampers is a luxury, in Zadar this is an urgent need. It is impossible to prepare cloth diapers at a time when there is water every other day and power only a few hours a day. And children, being what they are, are always in the street until the shooting starts. And then everyone scatters in his own direction. And the elderly use their peaceful moments for bowls or walking the Zadar embankment, but they are always cautious in the expectation of Serbian shells. They laugh cynically when asked whether they are afraid to take a walk when a shell might fall any moment. They say that they can forecast the falling of shells just like the rain, and that this is something commonplace for them. And they add: But Zagreb has no idea what war is and what it means to be without water and power for two years now, but, be it said, we do not wish them what has been happening to us—except for perhaps about five minutes.

Some of the developments in the process of transformation of ownership also confirm that Zadar nevertheless does share the destiny of all of Croatia. The local newspaper NARODNI LIST, after originally obtaining a permit for independent transformation, must, it seems, give it up. Boris Maruna is said to have shown an interest in that daily and intends to buy the firm along with a native of Zadar who has come from the United States. And the SAS firm, which was once renowned, is now the target of a purchase attempt by its still better-known

former director, Eng. Stanislav Antic, joined by a group of engineers from that firm. After almost two years, he is again attempting to take over the firm which in a referendum held at that time failed to show him confidence as its new director. Taking advantage of legal opportunities in transformation, Antic brought together 60 employees of SAS, and with their help he bought the controlling block of stock on credit.

Even in a war-torn area, transformation can be a hot topic, as shown not only by these examples, but also the case of transformation of SLOBODNA DALMACIJA. A strike was taking place in that firm at just the time when I was visiting Zadar. The people of Zadar were able to learn all the details about the strike from city bulletin boards, on which the posters of the SLOBODNA DALMACIJA strike committee were dominant. People in the city were divided in their views of this problem, but nevertheless on Saturday they eagerly awaited the new SLOBODNA, just as they would eagerly await freedom. Until then, life in the city literally dies out as soon as dark comes.

Federal

Churkin, Karadzic Give Press Conference

AU1404203893 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 14 Apr 93

[News conference by Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy of Russian President Yeltsin, and Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, following talks in Belgrade on 14 April; in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Churkin] I hope the talks will continue in all possible forms, naturally within the overall framework of the Vance-Owen efforts. It also seems that direct contacts between the warring sides is something that is generally accepted and acceptable. I hope that all three sides will find it possible to have direct contacts, not changing the current form, but acting in support of Vance and Owen as cochairmen of this (?committee). We have spent many hours of difficult talks and I hope the time will come when it will turn out that these talks were not entirely useless. Thank you.

[Karadzic] I completely agree with his excellency, Mr.Churkin. This round of consultations is concluded, but we will continue the conference with Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, and we have a desire to hold direct talks with the Croats and Muslims. The maps can be accepted and then changed only through direct face-to-face talks. We also want to maintain the cease-fire as long as possible. In addition, we want to aid all humanitarian efforts and we agreed on those issues.

I am now going to invite Mr. Izetbegovic and Mr. Boban to direct talks. They should accept that, particularly the Muslims. If they want to live in the same state with the Serbs, they should sit down at the same table with the Serbs and talk. Otherwise there is no point in a joint existence.

[Unidentified reporter] Dr. Karadzic, has anything direct and specific been suggested by Mr. Churkin or Mr. Bartholomew?

[Karadzic] They were not in a position to propose anything new, as the proposal must come from the other two sides. They are examining what the Serbs are interested in and what constitutes the minimum of Serbian demands and interests. We have explained to them that before the war, before any aggression, and before any ethnic cleansing, Mr. Carrington and (?Ambassador) Cutilheiro offered us 55 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the Serbian people are a majority. That was 55 percent of the territory with links [kontinuitet]. This map was very good. Now we want an adjustment to the Vance-Owen map so that we can have Serbian provinces with links and corridors, so that we can avoid any kind of further clashes and conflicts because if we accept these maps we will be pushed into misery and into Nagorno-Karabakhs, which would be a constant cause of tension in this region.

[Unidentified reporter, in Serbo-Croatian] Mr. Karadzic, do you see any move forward after this afternoon's talks?

[Karadzic, in Serbo-Croatian] What is most encouraging is that all sides are still in the process of negotiating in the peace process. No one has left the peace process. We must examine one more situation, one more possibility: If the international community really insists that we accept these and such maps with minimum changes, we cannot make such a decision. Such a decision cannot be made by the assembly, either. We then must consider holding a referendum.

Army Plans to Start Production of M-84 Tank

AU1504123393 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 9 Apr 93 p 17

[M. Ristovic report: "Introduction to the 'Miracle' M-84"]

[Text] The first five tank transporters have just come out of the workshop of the Machines and Components Plant in Krusevac! The experts of this metallurgy-giant managed to put together a mosaic of 9,000 co-workers to complete work on the tank, showing that in the new Yugoslavia the production of our most up-to-date military equipment can continue without much difficulty. Although the first consignment consists of only the tank transporters, people in Krusevac claim it is not only an introduction to the production of our miracle called M-84, but also worth 37 billion dollars, which they plan to realize by the end of this year.

The plant director has frequently stressed that the plant has shown it can keep up with the production of the latest military equipment, which proves the original decision of the politicians to let Djuro Djakovic's plant in Slavonski Brod complete the tank was wrong.

"In producing this tank, the Machines and Components Plant has shown only a part of its productive potential. However, whether serial production can start in such volume and with the dynamics that would satisfy ourselves, the Yugoslav Army, and the entire Yugoslav economy, or not, depends on many conditions. In other words, our plant will not produce tanks if the Yugoslav Army does not need them," plant director Ljubivoje Todorovic emphasizes.

According to the assessment of Yugoslav military experts, the Krusevac metalworkers, who used to work on the production of tanks (they used to manufacture tank gear-shifts) and constructing machines for the former Yugoslav People's Army, have shown themselves capable of producing on their own equipment whose quality cannot be questioned.

"Certainly, it is the Yugoslav Army that has the greatest interest in the continuation of production in the Krusevac plant. This interest relects defense and security circumstances but also the economic circumstances in

the country," according to Major General Miroljub Arandjelovic, head of the office of the Territorial Armored Units, who said this last year in Krusevac, when the production of the tank had just started. The $1.85-million-dollar pricetag for a single tank shows the metalworkers from Krusevac are engaged in a business that will surely pay.

Apart from the needs of the army, many countries have a chronic hunger for M-84 tanks, which have proved themselves more durable than the famous American Ambrams. Among the countries interested in buying it are Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates, Iran, and several more. However, the sanctions have done away with it. If the blockade were to be lifted, the Krusevac plant could deliver to Kuwait 10 combat tanks, and 15 transporter tanks, according to the contract already signed. [Box, page 17]

"Super-Tank"

After the collapse of the former Yugoslavia many experts from Slavonski Brod found shelter in Krusevac. With their experience they made a considerable contribution to the completion of the production of the transporter tank. The preparations for the production of our M-84 super-tank have almost ended, as well as for the production of the new tank Vihor [Whirlwind], which will be even better than its famous predecessor.

Military Industrial Complex Development To Continue

LD1404133793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0913 GMT 14 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—It is necessary to further develop the military industrial complex of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in line with the needs of the country's defense and its economic potentials. This has been concluded at a meeting between the federal ministers for defense and economy, Pavle Bulatovic and Tomislav Simovic; representatives of the corresponding ministries of Serbia and Montenegro; and leading managers of the military industrial sector.

As the Information Service of the Federal Defense Ministry reports, the participants in the meeting agreed that a uniform plan was needed for manufacturing weaponry and military equipment at the federal level. This plan will meet defense needs by defining all significant design, development, and production programs. Special attention will be paid to the preservation of highly-skilled and scientific cadres and research and manufacturing capacities. Some of the military industry's unused capacities will be converted to civilian production.

Yugoslav Army Offensive Across Drina Detailed

93BA0848C Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 93 pp 9-10

[Article by Karlo Jeger, military commentator: "The Army of Yugoslavia Has Crossed the Drina, Attacked Bosnia, and Taken Cerska!"]

[Text] Cerska had to fall! By the time the peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina is signed, the Serbs want to have a situation that is completely clear militarily, achieving complete control over the spaces connecting the territories occupied at the beginning of the aggression. The Serbs are securing still better the corridor through Bosanska Posavina [the Bosnian side of the Sava Valley] from Serbia to the "western Serbian lands," and the border on the Drina must be completely established, i.e., cleansed of non-Serbian inhabitants. That is the context in which one should look at the most recent Serbian offensives in eastern Bosnia. They will achieve their political goals exclusively by military means, so that any attempt to understand Serbian intentions outside of simple and cruel military logic inevitably leads to erroneous conclusions.

To be sure, the Serbs decided long ago to eliminate the free territories controlled by the Muslims along the Drina. Even back in the first half of 1992 the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] took complete control of all key transportation points in eastern Bosnia with a majority Muslim population (Zvornik, Bratunac, Visegrad, Foca, and Vlasenica) to meet the needs of Serbian conquest. The final ethnic cleansing was to be done by exhaustion of the utterly isolated Muslim enclaves thanks to starvation and diseases. Completely surrounded, the more than 300,000 Muslims in eastern Bosnia, lacking food and drugs, under threat of horrible new massacres like those at Visegrad and Foca at the beginning of 1992, were supposed to be forced to "voluntary departure" to become refugees. In the last year, the Serbs have allowed only a few convoys of humanitarian aid to pass into the surrounded region of eastern Bosnia.

Involvement of the Army of Yugoslavia—Without Sanctions

However, the resolute and ever improving organized resistance of the Muslims and the actions of the international community leading toward a resolution of the war on the space of Bosnia-Herzegovina forced the Serbs to change their basic tactics "in a final solution of the Muslim problem" of eastern Bosnia. The objective remained the same, but the most recent offensive operations of Mladic's forces, with cooperation of the Army of Yugoslavia, are supposed to speed up ethnic cleansing.

The first reports, which reached the world through ham radio operators in mid-December 1992, when the hunger in Zepa took its first victims—two little girls and two old women—coincide with the desperate attempt of members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina to break

through the complete Serbian encirclement. In the battles in late December 1992 and January 1993, the defenders achieved initial success and caused a panic among the Serbs. Through speedy and vigorous actions, they joined together the free territories of Srebrenica, Cerska, and Zepa, and with their effort in the direction of Bratunac and Skelani the Muslims almost broke through to the Drina. Free territory was extended to Gorazde, and an offensive was also undertaken toward Rudo and Cajnice. At that point, however, members of the Uzice Corps of the Army of Yugoslavia came to the aid of the demoralized Bosnian Chetniks. The advancement of units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina toward the Drina was halted by sending an armored battalion and "volunteers" from Ljubovija and Bajina Basta Opcinas, along with massive artillery support from the right bank of the Drina. The Serbian Air Force took part in that action. Along with the now customary flights of helicopters in the "No Fly Zone," the Serbs are using Jastreb jet assault planes and Kraguj propeller assault planes. A physician, a nurse, and 10 patients suffered in just one air attack on the Srebrenica Hospital. The airplanes took off from the Divci airfield near Valjevo, which is not under supervision of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] observers.

Cameras from Belgrade TV photographed the involvement of the Army of Yugoslavia in aggression against a neighboring sovereign state and member of the United Nations. The Serbs did not conceal their intentions at all, and representatives of the international community did not attempt even to comment on them, much less sanction the involvement of the Army of Yugoslavia in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Belgrade-Pale Communication Maintained

TV Belgrade is showing artillery positions of the Army of Yugoslavia on the plateau of Ponikve, Rogace, near Zuti Most and Bratunac Ade [river islands] as they "respond fiercely to the mujahedin 'who are attacking the territory of the FRY.'" Not only at Bratunac and Skelani, but the soldiers of the Army of Yugoslavia are fighting members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina at Rudo and Cajnice, where their elite special units are in fact involved. According to information now available, Colonel Dusan Loncar, chief of staff of the Uzice Corps, who is commanding the operations of the Army of Yugoslavia in the Drina Valley, has so far committed one army mechanized brigade and two motorized brigades, as well as a detachment of volunteers from Serbia under the name of "Panzer." To this we should add two other brigades of Ljubovija and Bajina Basta Chetniks. In the battles near Batunac, Lieutenant Colonel Momir Cvijovic of the Army of Yugoslavia, commander along the main thrust of the strike Bratunac-Kravica-Konjevic Polje, was seriously wounded. By securing the border on the Drina, the Serbs are moving to secure the only passable route connecting Belgrade to Pale and the forces besieging Sarajevo. The transportation route Zvornik-Caparde-Sekovici-Vlasenica-Han-Pijesak-Sokolac-Pale is the only open road for logistical support of the Romanija and Sarajevo Chetnik Corps. Earlier, successful actions of units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina completely thwarted traffic over the routes Visegrad-Rogatica-Pale and Gorazde-Praca-Pale. That is why the corridor from Zvornik to Pale must be completely secured from the Serbian point of view. That is why the Serbs are committing all available units and, with the abundant help of the Army of Yugoslavia, breaking through along the routes Bratunac-Kravica-Konjevic Polje and Sekovici-Vlasenica-Milici toward Cerska. Their objective is to cut off and liquidate the most salient Muslim positions from which it is possible to threaten the Romanija corridor and to open traffic to two reserve routes: Drinjaca-Milici and Bratunac-Milici. The advance of the Serbs from the direction of Bratunac has been halted at the approach to the village Kravica. Lightly armed, with insufficient ammunition and heavy weapons, attacked from three directions, the defenders of Cerska did not give in to the concentric attack of the Serbian units. Cerska is the only Muslim enclave which so far has not been reached by a single convoy of humanitarian aid. The situation with food reserves was critical even in the early fall of 1992. In September, bran had become the principal article of food for the population.

Death Alongside a Food Package

The ultimate objective of the Serbian offensive is to join forces from the region of Bratunac with forces from the region of Cerska. The Serbs decided to eliminate those Muslim strong points after announcement of the air-drops of humanitarian aid, which coincides with the strengthening of the Serbian offensive against Cerska. Serbian snipers killed 10 inhabitants of Cerska around one food package. The statement of General Morillon that, aside from the fact that Cerska had been completely torched and destroyed, he saw no traces of a massacre of the inhabitants is certainly true if we overlook the fact that destroying nonmilitary objectives and expelling the civilian population are war crimes. The commander in chief of peacekeeping forces for Bosnia-Herzegovina was allowed to enter Cerska with a delay only after the corpses were removed. However, there are still witnesses of the Serbian massacres who have survived. The account of Besim Topalovic, who tried to reach free territory with a company of refugees, illustrates the procedures followed by the Serbian soldiers toward the unprotected inhabitants. The entire company of refugees, with no armed escort, was ambushed by special Serbian forces in white camouflage uniforms wearing black caps such as are worn by members of Arkan's Tigers. Although badly wounded, Topalovic managed to extricate himself from beneath the bodies of people who had been killed and returned to free territory to testify about the Serbian crime. So far, it is reliably known that 384 inhabitants were killed in the little town of Cerska alone. About 20,000 refugees forged their way through deep snow on the mountain peak of Udric, mainly toward Konjevic Polje, and somewhat fewer toward Kamenica. The reason for this kind of Serbian brutality

should certainly be sought in the fact that the cochairmen of the peace conference, Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, allotted this territory to a Muslim province on the basis of the proposed map. Before signing the map, the Serbs are trying by a scorched-earth tactic to completely frustrate any thought of any return at all of the surviving inhabitants. So far, in the vicinity of Cerska, according to reliable figures, a total of 11 villages and hamlets have been torched. The Chetnik unit bearing the name Panthers, which in January 1993 arrived in the Drina Valley from Bijeljina, is foremost in Serbian savagery. It is commanded by Ljubisa Savic, nicknamed Mauser, the "liberator" of Brcko and the founder and first director of the concentration camp at Batkovici.

The second region of the offensive action of the coordinated Bosnian-Serbian Chetnik forces is the Bajina Basta-Skelani route. The Muslim forces had pushed the Chetniks to the very left bank of the Drina and came dangerously close to the important air force base on the Ponikve plateau, which is located between Bajina Basta and Uzice. What is more, there was a threat that they might threaten the machinery of the Bajina Basta pumped-storage hydroelectric power plant. Strongly supported by multiple rocket launchers and howitzers from the Serbian shore, the Chetniks again managed to recover some of the lost positions.

Amputations With Hacksaws

The Army of Yugoslavia managed to halt members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina who had all but liberated Rudo.

It is impossible as yet to predict the fate of 14,000 surrounded inhabitants and displaced persons in Konjevic Polje, 34,000 in Zepa, 60,000 in Srebrenica, and 80,000 in Gorazde, along with a still unknown number in Kamenica. According to statements of the spokeswoman of the High Commissariat for Refugees, between 15 and 20 people are dying from hunger and disease daily in the Srebrenica region, and there are another 200 seriously wounded in the hospital. In Konjevic Polje, 1,500 wounded and about 500 pregnant women are awaiting evacuation. In the hospital of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is located between Cerska and Konjevic Polje, wounds are being bandaged with newspaper, and amputations are being done with hacksaws. Recent pictures from the correspondent of Sky One provide sufficient evidence about the situation in Gorazde, where the maximum daily ration is 100 grams of bread per person.

Through the UNPROFOR and humanitarian organizations, Gorazde has in the last year received five aid convoys overland, Srebrenica three, and Zepa two, while Cerska has not received even one. The airplanes of the American airlift operation have delivered almost 200 tons. A large portion of that aid is not falling to those for whom it was intended, but the accuracy of the American airdrop crews is improving every day. But just a single Russian Mil MI-26 helicopter is able to airlift 20 tons, almost as much as four C-130 Hercules American transport planes. The use of those helicopters would reduce the high price of delivery! The UNPROFOR forces have this type of helicopter, but up to now they have not used them!

Combat operations in eastern Bosnia up to now are demonstrating that members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, although poorly armed, can resist the Bosnian Chetniks. However, in a conflict in which the Army of Yugoslavia is also involved, they will not be able to defend territories which are free at present.

Minister's Arrest Upsets His Home Town

93BA0837C Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 93 pp 18-21

[Article by Ljubisa Popovic: "The Rise and Fall of Handsome Mile"]

[Text] *In a manner well-known from the postwar period, his party comrades were the first to renounce Mihajlovic. A party verdict was issued before the judicial one.*

Although in recent days, as people downtown claim, every resident of Krusevac who is at all prominent has at least once been "arrested," "brought in for questioning," or had his "passport confiscated," officially, as of the submission of this article (Thursday), the prosecution authorities in Krusevac have not even looked askance at anyone since the arrest of former Minister Velimir Mihajlovic. The arrest of the youngest Krusevac politician and the awareness that their Velja is one of the main participants in a scandal that is rocking the top Serbian authorities have put the residents of Krusevac in a state of shock. In circles that were close in any way at all to the now former minister, there has been a general reexamination of who did what and how much he was in contact with Velimir Mihajlovic during the past years and months.

A particular obsession has taken hold of Krusevac businessmen and politicians, because each of them trusted "our man" in the Serbian government. Admittedly, Mihajlovic "did" a great deal for Krusevac while he was in Bozovic's government, and many people still hoped that Krusevac would have a "special status" in the Ministry of Trade, Tourism, and the Hotel Industry.

In a manner well-known from the postwar period, his party comrades were the first ones to renounce Mihajlovic. A party verdict was issued before the judicial one. "Implementing the designated policy and fully supporting the authorities and the Socialist Party, the SPS Executive Committee in Krusevac expels from the party Velimir Mihajlovic, former minister in the Serbian government." The signer of this party measure, Miloje Mihajlovic, chairman of the SPS municipal committee and a Republic deputy during both terms, explained in the corridors by saying that in recent months Velja did

not even want to drink coffee with his people from Krusevac in the Republic parliament.

Reacting sharply to the mention of his firm in the context of the ministerial scandal, Miroslav Miskovic, the owner of Delta Bank and a former vice president of the Republic Executive Council in Stanko Radmilovic's government, even stated to this journalist that he was not speaking to Mihajlovic.

Although disbelief still prevails in Krusevac in connection with such a long fall by Velimir Mihajlovic, those familiar with the situation point out his meteoric political career, which provides at least partial answers to the more frequent question.

Career

Just as suddenly as it was cut off by detention, dismissal from his position as minister, and his expulsion from the SPS, the political rise of the youngest minister in Sainovic's government also started suddenly. As a complete political unknown, in November 1989 Velimir Mihajlovic, 37 years old, suddenly sat in the armchair of the mayor of Krusevac, after several months of personnel maneuvering. His previous career at the 14 October Plant, where he was assistant director for commercial affairs, had not even gained him much recognition in the factory framework.

In the first multiparty elections in 1990, he entered the Serbian Assembly as one of four Krusevac deputies from the ranks of the ruling party. Radoman Bozovic trusted his own generation, and so Velimir Mihajlovic became his favorite. When Sainovic left "for temporary work" in the federal government, Mihajlovic took over the Energy Ministry in addition to industry, just at the time when the embargo started and a toll was being taken in this area.

The Krusevac minister's political conduct was assessed as very wise, and so a successful career was predicted for him. While he was still in the position of mayor of Krusevac, Mihajlovic established close contacts with his compatriot Dobrica Cosic. The day before his detention, according to his wife Gordana, Velimir was at a private lunch with the FRY president.

Projects

There were also those, however, who still were not in agreement with all of Mihajlovic's steps previously, especially investment projects in the area of municipal construction in Krusevac. "Handsome Mile," as he is called in Krusevac, removed the doubts through charm. The biggest investment project while he was mayor was the reconstruction of the street leading to his house. Although it was announced as the reconstruction of the road to the Jastrebac resort, the broad avenue only reached his door. The dubious business projects also included the fabulously expensive reconstruction of the Krusevac theater, and the result was an empty treasury, as well as the municipal commodity reserves.

It could be sensed during the election campaign last fall that not everything in Velimir Mihajlovic's career was going as it should. Together with the three SPS deputies who were already sitting on the deputies' benches, he was considered a safe candidate. His name also appeared on the joint list of SPS candidates for the Republic parliament, and then the candidacy was withdrawn. It was said in the corridors that Mihajlovic was angry that he was only 13th on the list, although there were also interpretations that he had listened to Dobrica Cosic's advice and avoided the candidacy. His reoccupation of a ministerial armchair, this time in the trade ministry, was a surprised to informed residents of Krusevac. It has now become clear that there is a close profiteering link between the energy and trade ministries.

Man From the Reserves

One more person from Krusevac is the target of persistent journalists these days—Radoslav Dimitrijevic, acting director of the Republic Commodity Reserves, and the re-elected general director of Krusevac's Rubin. Like Mihajlovic, he refused to be on the list of SPS candidates for the Serbian parliament again. Even before the end of last year, he told this journalist that he did not want to be involved in politics anymore, that he was staying at Rubin, and that he was only waiting for an opportunity to leave his position at the Republic Commodity Reserves, which he assumed after the departure of Dusan Mitevic.

He is denying the stories about the directorate's alleged involvement in Sava Vlajkovic's dubious dealings, offering complete papers:

"As far as the commodity reserves are concerned, the deal with Profako is completely clean. On behalf of the commodity reserves, assistant director Hranislav Virijevic signed the contract. Before that the Serbian government adopted a decision to become involved in the business of procuring medicines, and designated a firm that it would work with. Our job was just to see whether the prices of the medicines offered were at the [right] level, for which we received confirmation from the University Clinical Center in Belgrade. Although the average price of corn at that time, according to the data from the cooperatives exchange, was about 120 dinars per kilogram, we contracted for compensation of as much as 128 dinars per kilogram of corn. Profako was obligated to ship 50 percent of the medicines before the beginning of delivery of the corn, which was done. By the time the transaction was stopped, 90 percent of the contracted deliveries had been made on both sides," said Radoslav Dimitrijevic, adding that with respect to other strategic goods like cooking oil, flour, and sugar, one should ask the Serbian government, on whose orders the deliveries to the trade unions were made.

Until the "ministerial scandal" broke out, Krusevac was relatively solidly supplied with gasoline and diesel fuel. With Velimir Mihajlovic's arrest, the lines in front of the pumps are increasingly longer. The bad-tempered people

waiting kill time by adding to "the list of those who should join their Velja in jail." The rating of the "more prominent residents of Krusevac" is now determined according to such lists.

[Box, p 19]

Automafia

Immediately before Velimir Mihajlovic's arrest, the "hit" in Krusevac was the scandal over the resale of stolen automobiles and ones with forged papers. Here as well, the public did not accept the "pretense" that only the three forgers were guilty of this. Responding to demands from the public, the Krusevac DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia] is requesting publication of the names of all 500 owners of the automobiles with false papers. The list of suspects in both scandals, as people downtown see it, often overlaps.

Serbian Flour to Bosnian Muslim Units Via Kosovo

93BA0843A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 93 p 9

[Article by Dj. Vranjesevic: "Resale of Flour Affair Uncovered in Kragujevac: From Commodity Reserve Warehouses Directly to Private Businessmen in Kosovo"]

[Text] An inquiry has been launched by the Okrug Court against Bogomir Stevanovic Pura, the director of the "Badnjevac" agricultural cooperative, Slobodan Stojkovic, the commercial director of that cooperative, Miladin Todorcevic, the acting director of the "Zitoprodukt" DP [state enterprise] in Kragujevac, and Slobodan Stefanovic, a trucker and owner of the "Boki Komerc" PP [private enterprise].

Kragujevac, 22 Mar—Based on charges brought by the Kragujevac SUP [Secretariat of Internal Affairs], the Okrug Court there has initiated criminal proceedings against Bogomir Stevanovic Pura, the director of the "Badnjevac" agricultural cooperative in the city of the same name, Slobodan Stojkovic, the commercial director of that cooperative, Miladin Todorcevic, the acting director of the "Zitoprodukt" DP, and Slobodan Stefanovic, a private trucker and owner of the "Boki Komerc" PP, relating to misuse of their official positions and the criminal act of misusing economic authorities. They were all taken into custody, and after the initial hearing before the court of inquiry they were released on bail.

Only Paperwork Traveled Between Companies

According to Ljubomir Cvetic, the chief of the Kragujevac SUP, whose information was confirmed by the Okrug Court, this flour was sent directly from commodity reserve warehouses, through the direct participation of the aforementioned four defendants, to private businessmen in Kosovo and Metohija, who accepted it at a price of 35 pfennigs per kilogram in foreign exchange, not in dinars. It has been established that thus far in February and March, Albanian private businessmen in Kosovo and Metohija have been supplied with more than 300 metric tons of flour from the commodity reserves. Some quantity of this flour from the commodity reserves has been delivered primarily, again, to private businessmen in Serbia proper and Kragujevac, and certain quantities have been received by the "Badnjevac" cooperative as well.

The investigation has established thus far that a contract on the purchase of flour from the commodity reserves was concluded between "Zitoprodukt" in Kragujevac, the "Zitoprodukt" DP, and the Directorate for Commodity Reserves for the Novi Sad region. The first contract concerned a quantity of 600 metric tons of 500-type flour, while under the second contract another 300 metric tons of the same type of flour was taken from that directorate's reserve warehouses.

The contracts were signed in front of "Zitoprodukt" in Kragujevac by acting director Slobodan Stojkovic [as published], and then he "sold" this flour, also according to the contract, to the "Badnjevac" agricultural cooperative. Or to be more precise, only contracts and invoices traveled between those two companies, and the flour was resold without making it to the warehouses.

Specifically, the director of the "Badnjevac" agricultural cooperative, Bogomir Stevanovic, and his deputy, commercial director Slobodan Stojkovic, immediately handed the papers on acceptance of the flour over to Slobodan Stefanovic, a trucker and the owner of the "Boki Komerc" company, who accepted this flour and delivered it to the private businessmen. The marks that he collected were directly turned over to the commercial director of "Badnjevac," Slobodan Stojkovic, and he in turn passed them on to his director, Bogomir Stevanovic.

However, the "entry" of these marks is not registered anywhere in the Kragujevac cooperative's records, neither in foreign exchange nor in the equivalent dinars.

Foreign Exchange in Drawer of Director's Wife

In a search of the offices of the "Badnjevac" cooperative, however, 65,000 unentered marks were found in the desk of one of the collective's employees, who is moreover the wife of director Bogomir Stevanovic.

It is interesting that dozens of blank, signed, and authenticated bills of lading with the "Badnjevac" cooperative stamp were found on the premises of trucker Slobodan Stefanovic indicating that he accepted the flour directly at the commodity reserve warehouses in Novi Sad or Pancevo or at the train station in Lapovo. Moreover, it is been established thus far that he kept for himself five pfennigs per kilogram of sold flour.

The ball has just started unwinding in the Kragujevac "flour affair," and it is still unknown what the final outcome will be and who else is involved in this murky

business of reselling flour to Kosovo private businessmen, while not a single kilogram of flour can be found at any store in Kragujevac.

There are some reports indicating that this flour was supplied directly to certain of Alija Izetbegovic's units in Bosnia-Herzegovina by the private businessmen in Kosovo and Metohija.

Belgrade, Skopje Firms Linked

93BA0843B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 93 p 9

[Article by I.S. and G.V.: "Background to Ministerial Affair: Director of Belgrade's 'Profako' Questioned"]

[Text] *Trojanoski and Stojkoski did not appear in court; Macedonian medicine was delivered, but Serbian corn was stopped at the border.*

Yesterday at the Palace of Justice, investigating magistrate Tomislav Milanovic questioned Ljubica Radovic, the director of the Belgrade company "Profako," whose name has been mentioned in connection with the Vlajkovic-Mihajlovic "ministerial affair." Besides her, questioning was to be directed at Stojan Trojanoski, one of the owners of the Macedonian company "Profako" and the minister of trade in the administration of Nikola Kljusev (in that post at the same time as Sava Vlajkovic), and at Ljupco Stojkoski, the owner of the "Bujoto" company, but they did not appear in court.

Trojanoski and Stojkoski were supposed to confirm the statements that they made before a Macedonian court, to the effect that the dinar equivalent of 30,000 German marks was paid to the account of "Jugodrvo" for remodeling the apartment of former Serbian Minister of Trade Sava Vlajkovic—as a loan.

It has been learned unofficially that Ljubica Radovic confirmed that the Macedonians delivered the agreed quantity of medicine to Serbia. Only some of the medical equipment did not arrive from Macedonia, and 17 railroad car loads of corn (10,300 metric tons) from the Serbian commodity reserves never crossed our southern border.

It has been learned from reliable sources that Ljubica Radovic alleges that the negotiations on the deal at the Serbian Directorate of Commodity Reserves were attended by Trojanoski, in addition to herself. The value of this barter transaction was $882,000. Belgrade's "Profako" was only an intermediary in the entire transaction. The Serbian corn was loaded into railroad cars at Pozarevac, where customs clearance took place. After several delays, due to the alleged appearance of weevils and cockles in the Serbian corn and then the strike by Serbian railroad workers, the train bound for Macedonia was stopped at the border in Ristovac. The corn, it has been learned, was stopped by the Serbian government immediately after the arrest of Sava Vlajkovic and Velimir Mihajlovic. Although it is asserted that Belgrade's and Skopje's "Profako" are two separate companies that conduct business independently, the ownership structure indicates otherwise. It has been learned from well informed sources that 30 percent of the capital of the Macedonian "Profako" is held by Trojanoski, 30 percent belongs to Belgrade's "Profako," and 40 percent is held by a, for now, unknown owner from Paris.

Despite rumors that many prominent names from politics and the economy will appear in court (and not only as witnesses), for now there is nothing to these stories.

Government Measures To Restore Dinar

93BA0843D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 93 p 7

[Article by R. Nikolic: "What the Federal Government's New Program of Measures Brings: Devaluation, and Thus the Return of the Dinar's Prestige"]

[Text] The new value of foreign exchange will probably be known shortly; who all will be affected by less printing of money and limited financing of public spending; new prices for bread, cooking oil, milk, and other foodstuffs; Dr. Predrag Jovanovic Gavrilovic: The state must acknowledge the reality of the black-market exchange rate.

Will foreign exchange at banks and currency exchange offices soon cost as much in dinars as it currently costs on the black market for foreign exchange? Will there really be less freshly printed money coming from prime issue? What will price parities be like for products from the same production chain if some of the prices, as has been announced, are under state control?

Questions and dilemmas such as these are emerging following the latest announcement of the measures that the federal government intends to take, about which we informed our readers a few days ago. The details of the measures, of course, remain unknown until representatives of the federal government officially announce them. But the main moves are for the most part already clear. For example, the plan for the measures unequivocally provides for pursuing a policy of "a flexible dinar exchange rate, determined on the basis of supply and demand, for the redemption of foreign cash, through which citizens are stimulated to sell foreign exchange to authorized banks or authorized currency exchange offices." "And to irrevocably move currency exchange transactions from the street to specialized, authorized institutions."

Inflation Under Control

Thus, the dinar will undoubtedly be devaluated, but it remains to be seen when and by how much. Judging from statements coming from the federal government, it will not be long.

Of the federal government's other goals, attention is drawn to the plan to prevent further breaches in production while at the same time limiting hyperinflationary trends. Moreover, it is emphasized that the indispensable conditions for implementing monetary policy this year are the elimination of any possibility of creating money without the consent of the central monetary authorities and the adoption of a law on the NBJ [National Bank of Yugoslavia] that allows the central bank to pursue monetary policy separately.

If current appraisals are accurate—that as much as 70 percent of the social product of the FRY goes to financing public spending—then it is certain that the goal in the federal government's plan of new measures of reducing the financing of public spending to 45 percent of the social product means printing less money. It remains uncertain who all will be affected by the reduction in the flow of money from prime issue, because the government's plan of measures provides for a program to revise laws on public spending. But the fact that all of this clearly will not be easy to accomplish is indicated by a certain qualification, to the effect that "should the figure of 45 percent of the social product going to public spending be exceeded, an effort must be made to keep public outlay from surpassing 57 percent of the social product."

As far as prices are concerned, the government program provides for keeping inflation under control through prices, accompanied by a gradual liberalization of prices. Price controls would apply to 39 percent of industrial production, whereby 18 percent of prices would be under direct control. The prices of energy and basic foodstuffs—including, as usual, flour, bread, cooking oil, milk, and sugar—would clearly be controlled, together with products that are important base materials for production, and products and services that are important to the population's standard of living.

What do economists have to say about the federal government's proposed measures?

What Will Not Be Financed

Dr. Predrag Jovanovic Gavrilovic, the dean of the School of Economics, says that it is extremely important that the official exchange rate be harmonized with the realistic rate that is applied in everyday life. This means, of course, the black-market rate that holds true on the street, which is usually overvalued but which actually serves as the basis for setting prices in the marketplace, in stores, and in factories. If one bears that in mind, says Dr. Jovanovic Gavrilovic, then it is essential that the state too accept this orientation.

"It would be ideal if we were in a position to set the exchange rate in accordance with market conditions, but even if that is not the case, when the black-market rate is taken as the parameter for all prices, including wages, then it is logical for the state to make it official," says Dr. Predrag Jovanovic Gavrilovic.

As far as the measures aimed at reducing the financing of public spending are concerned, Dr. Jovanovic Gavrilovic says that the very goal of curtailed prime issue is that someone be affected by less printing of money. But consequently it should be announced clearly what will not be financed from prime issue, because it is easier on people when they know exactly what all is being paid and how much, and what they themselves will have to give up.

Since a significant percentage of prices will be controlled—i.e., frozen—under the federal government's new plan of measures, Dr. Jovanovic Gavrilovic says that the eternal problem with any restrictive measure is how people will do in the production chain. The state is not capable of achieving the right price for every single product, but some anchors must be established in setting prices. Price controls are a necessary evil, and during the transition period for implementing the measures, we must agree to this type of fixing. However, in all the measures that the federal government is going to undertake, one detail is important: In order to calm demand for foreign exchange on the black market, stimulative savings must be ensured for dinars. The key problem is to return confidence and security to the national currency in order that people not avoid it, either by buying foreign exchange or by buying often unnecessary things, which further stimulates inflation, says Dr. Predrag Jovanovic Gavrilovic.

Yugoslav Army 'Cleansing' Eastern Bosnia

93BA0848B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 p 33

[Article by Marko Barisic: "Yugoslavia Has Rendered the Verdict on Srebrenica"]

[Text] For more than a month, three free Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia (Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde) have been the target of a Serbian offensive and are about to suffer a military defeat. The offensive was undertaken by military forces from the territory of Serbia, and its military objective is to broaden the corridor which extends from Mali Zvornik via Vlasenica or Sokolac to Pale and Sarajevo. That corridor is particularly important to the Serbian forces, because this is the only route for supplying arms and food to the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, which for a year has besieged the city of Sarajevo and the region around it. Cerska and Konjevic Polje, which after fierce battles fell into the hands of units of the Army of Yugoslavia, are in that corridor.

The offensive against Srebrenica was undertaken after important successes which the Muslim forces achieved in January in the region of eastern Bosnia and the valley of the Drina River. Aside from reaching Bajina Basta (which is on the other side of the Drina River) in the region of Skelani, they had joined the regions of Gorazde, Zepa, and Srebrenica into a single whole. But still they were cut off from the other free part of Bosnia and Herzegovina. To be sure, it was possible to reach

Gorazde through the woods from Igman after a 16-hour hike. And between the free territory of Tuzla and Cerska there were only 2 km of occupied territory through which the most important Serbian corridor passed. Then in January, in deep winter, the Muslim forces inflicted a serious defeat on soldiers of the so-called army of the Serbian Republic [RS].

Then the Serbs changed their military strategy. The region of eastern Bosnia was taken under the authority of the commander of the Serbian Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina, General Ratko Mladic, and attached to the zone of operations of the Army of Yugoslavia, which after extensive preparation joined the fight. The command is entrusted to Milan Torbica, commander of the Uzice Corps (which was stationed in Mostar before the war broke out), and command of the tactical group of the Army of Yugoslavia for eastern Bosnia is assigned to Colonel Dusan Loncar, who previously taught tactics at the Military School in Belgrade.

Loncar first mobilized two brigades of Serbian Territorial Defense [TO] (from Ljubovija and Bajina Basta), he activated the Ponikva reserve air force base near Uzice, he deployed large quantities of long-range artillery in four salient regions of Serbia (near Banja Koviljaca, Mali Zvornik, Ljubovija, and Bajina Basta), he obtained a brigade of Serbian volunteers, and, finally, he set in motion some of the forces of the Uzice Corps: one brigade of mechanized armor and two motorized brigades. With all those forces, he set out to surround the free territory of Srebrenica, which for days before that had been uninterruptedly exposed to the strong fire of long-distance artillery and attacks from the air, mainly carried out by kragujs. The capture of Cerska and Konjevic Polje broadened the corridor to supply the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps and became secure, they also got auxiliary routes via Bratunac, and at the moment forces of the Army of Yugoslavia and Dusan Loncar are 2 km from the center of Srebrenica. The forces of the Army of Yugoslavia then embarked on a second phase, that is, the final phase, of the operation in eastern Bosnia: the complete conquest of Muslim enclaves, which will result in expulsion of the entire population, that is, ethnic cleansing and genocide. The attack on Gorazde can be expected soon, because the Serbs need a corridor along this route from Visegrad to Pale via Gorazde. Thus, the Serbs will get free travel routes, and the subjugation of the remaining Muslim enclaves will remove any danger to their important facilities in the course of the Drina River (hydroplants and factories).

The reason why the Serbs undertook the offensive, one can guess, is the ultimatum presented to the Serbs by the UN negotiators that after the Muslims sign the Vance-Owen plan, they must return 25 percent of the occupied territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Now, in this vacuum before the signing, they will conquer as much again, and later they will try to be magnanimous in the political negotiations, that is, use this to blackmail the Muslims and Croats in connection with obtaining a Sava Valley corridor for various krajinas (the Novi Sad Brigade of the Army of Yugoslavia is already on the territory of that corridor).

Thus, Yugoslavia, or Serbia, has intervened in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, not only with volunteers and logistical support, but it has also attached to itself the region of eastern Bosnia from the military and civilian standpoints. Representatives of the United Nations and various humanitarian organizations, who confirmed bombardment of Srebrenica by Serbian aircraft, who have testified that the "regular Army of Yugoslavia" has prevented the passage of humanitarian convoys, have seen this for themselves. The European Community and United Nations can no longer justify themselves by saying that they do not know what is happening. Incidentally, we in fact obtained this information through their representatives who have visited that region.

Cosic's Chance of Surviving Ouster Slim

93BA0858B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 p 15

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic: "Tearing Down Cosic (Part II)"]

[Text] In Bijeljina, at the beginning of the week Mr. Vojislav Seselj announced for the umpteenth time that Dobrica Cosic would be forced to step down from power. Only a day later, in the Constitutional Commission of the Yugoslav Assembly, the president of the state was attacked by the joined forces of Socialists and Radicals. So now, once again, we really have an occasion to see for ourselves that Mr. Seselj is the spokesman of an association of ambitious citizens called the "Radicalists."

When all the pluses and minuses are added up, it will turn out that the leader of the Radicals is nevertheless a sincere enemy of the president of Yugoslavia, while that could not be said of the leader of the incumbent party.

Is there any symbolism in the fact that someone who until yesterday was a citizen of Bosnia and Herzegovina said in Bijeljina no less: "Last year, we had the traitor Milan Panic at the head of the federal government. We brought him down. Now we will bring down Dobrica Cosic. He is finished in 10 days or so. The Serbian Radical Party [SRS], although the second strongest political party in the FRY, did not want to become part of the government of Serbia, nor the government of Montenegro, nor the government of Yugoslavia. Why? So as not to leave the government without an opposition. No. We did not enter that government, but we gave it support when it was formed. Under one condition. That condition is that they support us when we bring down Dobrica Cosic. And that is why Cosic must fall. He simply has no chance of remaining. If by some chance he fails to be brought down, then both the federal and republic governments will fall. In Serbia, they simply will no longer have our support." (POLITIKA, 23 March 1993)

One of the characteristic Serbian traits is being put to the test here—at any price to remove the person who has aided you in your life and become witness to your weakness. And we must immediately ask: If he had been just a bit more lively and persistent in the last election working with his immense prestige on behalf of the cheerful and energetic Americans, would all this be happening to Mr. Cosic today? Cosic's defeat, however, was announced with Panic's overthrow.

A superficial analysis of the speech of Seselj the angry warrior ought to lead us to three conclusions: that Dobrica Cosic is also a traitor (!), that there certainly is a secret agreement between the Radicals and Socialists (read: between Messrs. Seselj and Milosevic) to bring down the man from the Morava region, or soon, if the president of Yugoslavia nevertheless survives, there will be a carefully planned putsch, and the Podgorica and two Belgrade governments—republic and federal—will fall! The first accusation belongs to the sphere of jurisprudence provided we live in a law-governed state, the second assertion—about an alliance among Cosic's detractors—is quite possible, unless it is quickly denied by Slobodan Milosevic himself. And the third assumption is feasible if the police begin to show more zeal concerning the "scandal of the ministers."

Many people are inclined to look with a certain dose of contempt on what the overambitious vojvoda is talking about. Perhaps the torrent of those words is not so important when those words are not interpreted as the desire of the Serbian regime. It is an indisputable fact that the destiny of the president of Yugoslavia is subject to the will, not to say the whim, of the president of Serbia. Although he was the principal protagonist of Zabljak Yugoslavia, it has been clear for a long time now that the president of Serbia simply does not honor it. Why, then, would he recognize its president? If someone wants to destroy a state, deprecating its prestigious figures is one of the reliable methods of doing it.

Dobrica Cosic is Yugoslavia's prestigious figure Number One, and possibly that is the reason why he is not to the liking of the capricious Slobodan Milosevic. The academy member, by contrast with the Milosevic-Seselj tandem, favors a modern federation instead of three weak states in one, a fundamental constitutional reform, he was for a concentration government, for the rule of several parties.... Whether they admit it or not, Mr. Cosic is the figure who in the world today gives Yugoslavia legitimacy and who it possibly does not deserve, torn as it is from within: Out of respect for him, certain leading statesmen and intellectuals are overlooking some of our unseemly acts. Left to the mercy of Johnny-come-lately Serbs and people who have made an occupation of Serbism, Cosic is today more isolated in a fictitious government than he ever was as the actual leader of the opposition in the state that represented uniformity of thought and when he was a light beneath which we all gathered. Even those whom he once defended and associated with do not feel the need to say their piece in his defense! Those who are silent and who probably rejoice at the vojvoda's inappropriate accusations, filled with a shameful vanity, will have sufficient time for remorse. As is always the case in life, it will be too late. President Dobrica Cosic is the thread which at least to some extent holds us attached to the democratic and free world. If it breaks, there is every prospect that we are condemned to the damnation of a miserable existence under Seselj-ism.

More important than the question of whether the Serbian Radicals and Serbian Socialists have made an alliance to bring down the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is whether they will succeed in their intention? What are Cosic's prospects to survive the planned overthrow?

Judging by the balance of power in the federal parliament, where the Socialists and Radicals have a majority, his prospects are extremely poor. For that matter, even if by some chance he remains, Cosic will not have much luck with them in the future either: He will be under constant scrutiny, there will be accusations every moment. So, the whipping boy for everything and everyone. In the rabid atmosphere that has been introduced in the parliament by the leader of the Radicals, and accepted with both hands by some Socialists, Cosic will not only lack the opportunity to defend himself—he will not even be offered the occasion to speak. That is what the people there and the conditions there are like.

Nevertheless, the president of Yugoslavia does have something to say and someone to whom to say it. He would also have someone to accuse. The occasion and expectation for him to say what he intends do exist, why has he not managed to do it, and who has prevented him? Silence—for which many people are accusing the academician more and more loudly and frequently—which he seems to have chosen as a method of defense, could be interpreted even as evidence of his own weakness.

Does Dobrica Cosic the citizen have a right to that? The writer and the member of the academy have the right at times to a certain intellectual comfort—but the president of the state—by no means and never. If he has entered the field of doubt of the Radicals and Socialists, surely Dobrica Cosic will not allow himself to become yet another great Serbian deception and yet another empty Serbian hope. Two illusions in as many years would be too much even for sleeping Serbs.

Yugoslav Army Problems With Homeless

93BA0855C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 p 12

[Article by Vesna Jelicic: "17,500 Homeless in the Army of Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Until just two or three years ago, employment in the army took a job vacancy and a good recommendation. Those who took employment in the army were offered a steady job, solid earnings, good summer and

winter vacations in military resorts, and, most important, a short wait for housing. On the average, it took six years to get an apartment.

"Today, military housing authorities have 25,231 applications on hand. About 17,500 are homeless, and the rest are waiting for larger quarters. When the war broke out and the SFRY disintegrated with the secession of the republics, about 13,000 active military personnel and civilians employed in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], along with about 40,000 family members, resettled to Serbia and Montenegro. About 4,000 families of pensioners who in the former Yugoslavia had apartments to which they were entitled under military regulations also fled, and now they will have to solve their housing problem all over again, but through the Social Insurance Community of Military Personnel," explains Colonel Stamenko Nikolic of the Administration for Problems of the System and Status of the Federal Defense Ministry.

Apartments Even in Garrisons

Although it is difficult to weigh whose trouble is greater, an order of the chief of the General Staff has provided that the families of those killed in combat, disabled persons, those who were in captivity a long time, but also people who are now retiring and have no roof over their head should be cared for first. A majority, more accurately, about 3,000 of these families, has been taken care of. To be sure, this is temporary and emergency housing. But that is the only way for now. They have been housed in renovated and refurbished military facilities, garrisons, vacation cabins, and clubs of the Army of Yugoslavia.

In Belgrade, where the situation is most difficult, about 600 military storefronts and common spaces in military buildings have been turned into temporary housing units. There is a possibility of refurbishing about 150 more such spaces, but even that requires money. The building which once housed the Hotel Galeb, later VINC [expansion not given], and then the social welfare building and foreign languages school in Car Uros Street has become a new home for families whose housing was left behind in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia, and right now they are also moving into a structure in Deligradska Street. After all, of the total number of military homeless, which is 17,500, 8,470 are in Belgrade.

In any case, about 2,400 housing units, about 1,000 of which have already been allocated, are being built in the Belgrade settlements of Bezanija, Cukaricka Padina, and Karaburma. The army has financed construction of the infrastructure for two buildings on Bezanijska Kosa, and everything is prepared to build about 800 more housing units. The work could have begun last year, but even then, just as now, the problem is the same—a lack of money. That is how it has happened that our opstinas are taking over certain sites, because we were not able to begin construction within the period specified, explains Col. Milan Lalic, chief of the Construction Administration of the Federal Defense Ministry, adding that many obligations toward builders were not met even for housing units already under construction.

The army, as we recently have written, has decided to turn over the building of the Novi Sad Army Center to its immediate neighbor, Vojvodjanska Banka [Bank of Vojvodina], in exchange for about 4,600 square meters of housing space and some money to renovate the center's annex. A detailed contract has specified how many housing units of what kind the bank will furnish in six months. Also, the building which until yesterday belonged to the Belgrade Municipal Command in Sveti Sava Street is now the property of Stankom. It was exchanged for about 60 housing units. This way is more reliable, they say in the Construction Administration, because money is losing value. There is a possibility of certain other buildings being sold or exchanged for housing units, but that will have to wait for a decision to be made, say, about the fate of military schools, military engineering institutes, and certain other military institutions.

Government Help Is Expected

To get back to the way it was when military personnel and other employees in the Army of Yugoslavia obtained housing in six years, about 10,000 units will have to be built. An agreement has been reached with the Belgrade City Assembly to provide sites for construction of about 8,000 housing units, and Energoprojekt has made an offer for the army to erect a building with about 2,000 units in Block 25 in New Belgrade near the Sports Arena.

"We can no longer do without government help. The funds from sales are immediately invested to meet obligations for housing units under construction, and the 60 percent of rent which we set aside for depreciation and the housing contribution which employees in the army will pay until the year '98 (between 4.5 and 6 percent of gross personal incomes) have always covered slightly more than 10 percent of housing investments. The rest has come from the budget. But in the federal budget for the first three months of this year there was no item for the housing of commissioned officers," says Col. Stamenko Nikolic, adding that it is true that when the Law on Transformation of the JNA was adopted, funds were approved to obtain a total of 2,000 official housing units this year and over the next two years.

In the Army of Yugoslavia, they are expecting much larger help from the government.

Changes in Programs of Serbian Parties

93BA0855B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 p 10

[Article by Djordje Martic]

[Text] With the disappearance of the SFRY and the creation of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia],

political parties here have been forced to change their programs, but those changes have also gone much further than a mere change of the "country portion" of their address.

At the recent Second World Convention of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], that party incorporated into its program a completely new plank referring to the present Kosovo and Metohija. In that part of its fundamental political document, the SPO calls for "the expression Kosmet or Kosovo and Metohija to be dropped completely from the political and geographic vocabulary."

Restoring the old and only historically founded name—Old Serbia—is the view to which the political efforts of the SPO are committed in its program.

It is also added that the "Skipetar question in Old Serbia is a domestic Serbian issue, and it can be permanently resolved only by the strength of democracy." Minorities, including the Skipetar minority, may be entitled to the rights to which minorities are entitled under international treaties or granted in the most democratic states of the world, but nothing more than that.

Adaptation to the Governmental Framework

"Old Serbia is the capital of the national faith, culture, and memory of all Serbs," the SPO program concludes, adding that this "says it all to everyone."

In another place, it speaks about Vardar Macedonia and says that the SPO's programmatic ideal is "democratic processes, the laws of the free market, and free interpenetration of culture, renewal of a firm governmental alliance among Bosnia and Herzegovina [B-H], Serbia, Montenegro, and Vardar Macedonia." It adds that the "so-called 'Macedonian question' was solved by the Balkan wars and must not be the cause of discord among Serbs, Bulgarians, and Greeks."

The fact that the SPO is also seeking a referendum in which the citizens of Serbia would vote on the future arrangement of their state, in which one of the alternatives would be a "passive constitutional monarchy as a 'roof' above the political parties in an active parliamentary democracy," was for many political observers a clear sign that the Serbian Renewal Movement is now taking a firmer national position than the one it did before the convention was held.

In answer to the direct question of how accurate those assertions are, Dr. Ivan Kovacevic, spokesman of the Serbian Renewal Movement, said that the party's new program is only a gesture to adapt to the new governmental and political framework.

"So long as the SFRY existed, we said that the price of destroying it would be greater than the price of creating it," Kovacevic said. "Even today, the SPO favors creation of a joint governmental roof in this region, and versions of that new association range from a customs union to a federation, albeit asymmetrical."

The Program of the SPS Is Being Printed

Kovacevic explains the programmatic demand that the name Old Serbia be used instead of Kosovo and Metohija in terms of the desire of the Serbian Renewal Movement to emphasize once again and in a sufficiently vigorous way the territorial indivisibility of Serbia "especially under circumstances in which plans concerning division of Old Serbia, often disguised, are cropping up."

The party in power in Serbia has also undertaken a political "spring housecleaning" in its own program. Vladimir Krsljanin, a figure in the very top leadership of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], says that the SPS program was altered to some extent even before last year's congress. Certain political options were polished some more at that meeting, and then the document was adopted only later.

The public at large and rank and file of this party still have not seen the final version of the new SPS program, because it will be coming from the press in coming days.

"The SPS considers itself to be a continuation of the socialist and freedom-loving tradition in Serbia, a part of the present-day European democratic left, and the best expression of the aspirations of the nationwide democratic and patriotic movement which in the late 1980's changed the face of Serbia and was the precursor of democratization in East Europe," Krsljanin said, commenting on the spirit of the new SPS program.

"We are proud of the fact that our patriotism does not include nationalistic views and that Serbia and the FRY, by contrast with the republics that have seceded, even under great unjust foreign pressure and in spite of their multinational character, have remained free of violence and interethnic conflicts," Vladimir Krsljanin said as a spokesman of the SPS's programmatic views. "This party is defending the right of the Serbian people to self-determination equal to the rights of other nationalities of the former Yugoslavia, it favors preservation of a unified Serbia and federal FRY, and in economics it is in favor of equality of all forms of ownership."

"The SPS program favors fair transformation of ownership in which social ownership, transformed as joint public stock capital, would be included," Krsljanin said, adding that the SPS is also programmatically committed to preventing the transformation of economic power into political power, but also wants representatives of the employees to participate in management committees of firms regardless of the form of ownership.

The program of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] is also about to be supplemented. The reason lies in the fact that the Democratic Party of Serbia is either in power or sharing power with other opposition parties in a certain

number of opstinas, while the party's program speaks in only general terms about local self-government.

"In a few days, the Democratic Party of Serbia will come out with a specific declaration that will have the importance of an amendment to the party's program," says Dr. Radoslav Stojanovic, explaining his party's intention to join the forces of resistance to centralization of Serbia, which could smother self-government. "The strengthening of centralization without instruments for controlling it from the local level threatens the creation of an Orwellian state in the Balkans," Stojanovic said to explain the purpose of the amendments to the program of the Democratic Party of Serbia.

Serbia

Izetbegovic Allegedly Knew About New York Explosion

AU1504153393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] The Serbian Radical Party has acquired through certain diplomatic channels in Belgrade reliable reports that Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the Bosnian Muslims, had personal knowledge of the preparations for the bomb attack in the center of New York, Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the party, has said at a news conference. Here is a report by Dragoljub Stankic:

[Begin recording] [Stankic] The U.S. intelligence service knew everything, but was hiding all that from the U.S. and world public out of its political interests and in order to continue carrying out its anti-Serbian campaign, Vojislav Seselj stated. The Serbian Radical Party is informing the public that the Western powers will continue to exert pressure on the highest state leadership of Serbia, Montenegro, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, so that the Serbs in the Serbian republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina will be left in the lurch. So far, they have achieved nothing really serious, Seselj said.

[Seselj] ... but it is obvious that they are trying to rouse their old mercenaries—Dragoljub Micunovic's Democratic Party, Vuk Draskovic's Serbian Deception Movement [its actual name is the Serbian Renewal Movement], and Vesna Pesic's Civil Association—into new initiatives with a view to destabilizing the political situation in Belgrade and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and weakening the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia so much as to create unrest, social tremors, and political rebellion, so that the Americans could [word indistinct] all their aims and break away all territories that they think should be taken away from Serbia and the Serbian people. These territories are Kosovo and Metohija, Sandzak, and Vojvodina.

[Stankic] The Serbian Radicals strongly protest against the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other state bodies who have allowed a U.S. delegation to mess around in Kosovo and Metohija. International pressures will continue to intensify, Seselj said, so the Serbian Radicals have started an initiative in the Assembly of the Republic of Serbia on adopting an amendment to the Law on Strikes so as to exclude any possibility of work stoppages in public services while the economic blockade of Yugoslavia is on. [end recording]

MUP Minister at Serbian Assembly Meeting

93BA0837B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 93 pp 12-13

[Article by Milan Milosevic: "Arrest Agoston!"]

[Text] On Thursday (18 March), Police Minister Zoran Sokolovic appeared before the Assembly and said that the government had "started, it can be freely said, an extensive planned operation to curb economic crime, which is yielding results." He mentioned the figure of 183,000 crimes committed, which is a third more than last year; he noted that "we assess as an extraordinary social danger the spread of economic crime," within which, without specifying, he listed "the illegal conduct of some state and economic officials," "the misuse of one's social position, accompanied by corruption, receiving and giving bribes, the avoidance of tax and financial obligations, and other malversations": "money-laundering transactions," "ties with questionable foreign partners," and "other actions." He even cited the number of traffic violations, but he did not mention the ministerial scandal in particular.

Blue-Eyed God

Shocked as usual when addressed by the police, the deputies in the Serbian Assembly showed their identification cards (at the beginning, one stated that the document had gotten lost somewhere) more than they discussed the government's report. Stanko Kovacevic: "I would like the finance minister to send the competent financial services immediately to my three private enterprises, of which I am the owner: the Globeks Savings Bank, the Globeks trade enterprise, and the Jolly Tours tourist agency... for the sake of a clean image." Deputy Slobodan Elezovic (SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia]) concluded his speech by tenderly reciting: "My God has blue eyes, my God is against the kings of night, I am seeking the right to fly like others, folding my hands and thinking blue.... Thank you for your attention!" (applause).

Things dragged on, and the discussion did not yield any practical result. Sainovic did not deign to come to say whether he felt any moral responsibility for the minister whom he recently recommended to the Assembly. The question of confidence in the government whose minister was arrested was not raised; on the contrary, the government received encouraging praise, and the blame was put on someone else.

Miladin Tosic (SPS) attributed the causes of the criminalization of society "to those who staged the collapse of Yugoslavia and are now staging the collapse of Serbia."

Dejan Lukic (SPS) emphasized that "the criminal institution of the so-called turbulent demonstrations is hanging over our heads like the sword of Damocles." DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia] leader Vojislav Kostunica explained that strategy with the opinion that the regime in Serbia could not do without crime—it is simultaneously producing it and fighting against it.

Zoran Arandjelovic, leader of the deputies' group, tried to turn a vice into a virtue by boasting that the SPS Main Committee had ordered that Jezda's money be returned, "because the donation received was obviously not from profits or from any good intentions, but was instead obviously from cheating citizens." The money is to be returned to the poorest of Jezda's depositors, according to the formula of "When they catch you, take everything penitently to church, and God will show mercy." A few people would take the lead a little, like Ilija Novakovic, when he said "The crime is at Jugopetrol, Naftagas...," but these were only rhetorical sallies, neutralized by calls "not to start a witch hunt" now.

What Kind of Survey Committee

The Socialists were in agreement with the Radicals on somehow hushing things up by trying to show that they were "cleaning up their own back yard first." Two more requests for forming a survey committee were rejected—one was submitted by the absent DSS deputy Vladan Batic, and the other was submitted again during the discussion by Goran Vasic, after the Democratic Party's initiative to form a survey committee that would investigate the overall activity of former Prime Minister Bozovic's government was rejected last week. Zoran Djindjic recalled that a year before, the opposition had requested that socialized banks also be allowed to purchase foreign exchange, but the prime minister and finance minister at that time opposed the proposal as if they had some interest in having the purchase of foreign exchange remain the monopoly of privileged private banks. Naturally, the Assembly majority did not even refer to that detail.

The Radicals actively defended the government's flank, first of all expressing support for the beginning of its operation, then seeking to have the police's material position improved and "since we are adopting the budget, to start a campaign for 10,000 apartments for our militiamen," and then demanding that a statement given to the police could not be revoked in court. They adhered to their social demagogic outline: "Serbs are starving so proudly that the whole world is afraid of them, but some people in Mercedes cars are stealing" (Tomislav Nikolic), but they did not associate this with the events in progress. They tried to sidetrack the discussion and undermine it. Challenged by Djindjic's comment that those who boasted at one time that Jezdimir Vasiljevic would be their deputy did not have the moral right to attack him so much now, the Radicals activated their deputy Rajko Goranovic, a former member of the Democratic Party, who "recalled" that in 1990 the Democrats had received assistance from Greece and that they had concealed the fact that a member of their secretariat had—stolen a telephone! Then Miroslav Jakovljevic (SRS) proposed prosecuting "a fourth form of crime"—receiving national pensions (apparently the highest, because "the first degree consists of petty criminals and dealers," "the middle one"—"burglaries and robberies of warehouses, shops, and apartments," and "higher crime" "consists of the people in power").

Formula for Salvation

All of this seemed shaky in the shadow of the biggest postwar scandal until it reached national grounds. Arkan attacked Albanian merchants for buying flour in Vojvodina through bribery, and claimed that all of the drug and arms trade was going through Kosovo, but they also listened tiredly to that, until someone remembered to attack Agoston because of a controversial statement about international intervention to protect Hungarians in the event of the attacks that were threatening them. Without even mentioning Sava, Bozovic was saved, there was an outcry against the Hungarians, and the unfortunate Agoston was reprimanded and intimidated. (T. Nikolic: "I didn't want you not to be frightened!") Mihalj Kertes, in the heat of argument, wanting to leave an impression, even betrayed an official secret, having informing Agoston that he had also used those six months at the federal MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] to "become well acquainted" with him, Agoston. Under normal conditions, a big scandal would have erupted just because of that sentence—either an investigation would have been requested regarding who and with what motives had issued the order for police coverage of a party leader and a people's deputy, or else the police would have been accused of concealing their findings. In this situation, it was only one of the threatening sentences toward the end of the discussion, which showed how any stain can be removed by sljivovica (the national drink, 25 grades).

Serbian Massacre Victims Buried

93BA0843C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 93 p 8

[Article by D. Pejak: "Yesterday in Bratunac: Kravica Victims Buried"]

[Text] *The funeral service for the 39 massacred Serbs was performed by Bishop Vasilije of Zvornik-Tuzla; Gen. Gvero: We must find the strength and faith to endure in the struggle for justice.*

Bratunac, 22 Mar—In addition to the church ceremony, funeral service, and military honors, a farewell service was performed today in Bratunac for the 39 members of the Serb nation, inhabitants of Kravica, whom Alija's soldiers killed this year on Orthodox Christmas. Of that number, 35 have been identified.

Among the multitude of people from this part of the Serb republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] who said farewell to

the victims were Prof. Dr. Biljana Plavsic, the vice president of the Serb Republic, Branko Lukic, the vice chairman of the Assembly of the Serb Republic, Ministers Velibor Ostojic and Dragan Djokanovic, Brig. Gen. Milan Gvero, a member of the Main Staff of the Armed Forces of the Serb Republic [VRS], and Col. Milenko Zivanovic, the commander of the Drina Corps of the VRS. The farewell to the Kravica victims was also attended by Gen. Philippe Morillon, the commander of the peacekeeping forces in the former B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina].

After the funeral service, which was performed by Reverend Vasilije, the bishop of Zvornik-Tuzla, with the help of priests from this region, the bishop said in his oration:

"Through its unequal criteria, world public opinion is applying not a divine standard, but rather a devilish one to Serbs of the Orthodox faith. We are not endeavoring to conquer, we are trying to endure amid all the misfortunes that have been imposed on us by others," Bishop Vasilije said.

Addressing those present, Brig. Gen. Milan Gvero said that the justness of our struggle and their exalted sacrifices are known the entire world, known but not recognized. At this time of rule by the powerful and arrogance by the strong, justice and human and national dignity are in fact old-fashioned values for them.

"Before this mass of Serb victims, before these heroes of the just struggle, we ask when the conscience of humankind will awaken, when the leaders of information services in the world will find the strength to resist pressure and professionally pronounce, according to their conscience, the truth about our struggle? When will Orthodox countries raise their voices to defend and spread the truth about our struggle, and to denounce the crimes and lies about the Serb nation? Until that happens, if it does happen, we Serbs must be unified and strong in our self-defense. We must find the strength and faith to endure in the struggle for justice, for our human dignity and state," Gen. Gvero emphasized.

Saying farewell before the Bratunac church, Prof. Dr. Biljana Plavsic said that one is left speechless by this atrocity.

"From this place, let everyone hear that the borders of the Serb lands are wherever our heroes are perishing and wherever your graves are. Let this be known to those who want to decide our fate for us from far away, in the United States. In their opinion, it should be our fate to continue living with those who now, for the third time in this century, are killing and tormenting us to the point of extermination. Who dares to do that? To whom are we to hand over your graves, Serb heroes, martyrs? From this holy place, we let it be known that we will never again allow ourselves to live with them. Let that be an oath to our ancestors and a solemn promise to our descendants," Dr. Plavsic emphasized.

According to Zoran Stankovic, a specialist in forensic medicine who is working on identifying the victims, in this case too it is clear that Alija's people massacred innocent Serbs. The job of identification is under way because, as Dr. Stankovic stressed, the excavations are continuing. Another 15 victims were found in Kravica today.

Serbian Opposition Fear of Unity

93BA0858C Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 p 14

[Article by Dragan Bujosevic: "Unity a Self-Inflicted Wound"]

[Text] "There is no unification with PRAXIS forces who see the solution in the doctrines of the young Marx and the Lenin of Geneva, because such parties have nothing to seek on Oplenac," Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], said at the ceremonies to promote the new Declaration of DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia].

A day earlier, Dragoljub Micunovic, chairman of the Democratic Party [DS], told NIN: "We cannot all stand under one banner from Ravna Gora. Perhaps we can all wage war under one banner."

Vojislav Kostunica, leader of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS], who did not make an appearance at the ceremonies to promote the new DEPOS Declaration, believes that any new unification—and only DEPOS and all the smaller parties, Micunovic the Democrat, and Milovan Babic's Peasant Party of Serbia [SSS] can unite—is an unrealistic project. This would only lead to new tensions among the parties which have made progress in their own organization and political formation, Kostunica believes.

Thus, the party leaders have rendered a verdict by summary procedure against the most recent appeal for unification of the opposition, which has been coming most clearly from the nonparty segment of DEPOS. That unity was first called for by Slobodan Selenic and Ljubomir Simovic in the Assembly of the Democratic Party on 28 February. "I do not know in what forum, I do not know in what manner, I do not know what sacrifices would be involved. But I do know that it (the opposition) must unite as soon as possible: before the war carries over to Serbia, before still more people move out or die, before Belgrade experiences the fate of Sarajevo," Simovic said at the time.

The appeal for unity of the opposition was repeated a week later by Matija Beckovic in the convention of the Serbian Renewal Movement, but Vuk Draskovic was quick to respond in a press conference that "Matija seems not to be standing at the best observation point."

Finally, the Declaration of DEPOS, which has been referred to, says: "The opposition's present fear of its own unification is actually a fear concerning the destiny

of the interests of their own respective parties. The little fish are afraid of being swallowed up by the big ones, but if they do not unite, both will end up in the same net."

The opposition in Serbia was briefly united. After the shock experienced in the first round of the first multiparty elections on 9 December 1990, the parties instructed their members to circle the name of the opposition representative in the second round, regardless of what party he came from. What was called the United Opposition of Serbia included at that time the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Democratic Party, the People's Party, the People's Peasant Party, the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Serbia, the UJDI [Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative], New Democracy—Movement for Serbia, the Liberal Party, and the Alliance of All the World's Serbs. The proclamation of the United Opposition asserted that 57 percent of the voters voted for the opposition in the first round, and at the end it said: "We have won. We confirm the victory."

Comparing the countries of East Europe in which a brief or more lengthy existence of opposition movements or alliances preceded changes in the system, Vladimir Veres of the Center for Strategic Research says that we did not have here the conditions which fused the opposition there. There, the regime was perceived as totalitarian and imported, the government that existed consented to leave only in order to save its neck, there were no ethnic quarrels....

Here, the parties sprang up first and immediately established competitive relations, and only later did they think about cooperating or uniting, Micunovic says. Perhaps it is still more accurate to say that here divisions have increased the number of parties. The group that gathered in Pazova on Christmas Eve in 1990 has given rise to at least three parties, two more parties have sprung from the loins of the Democratic Party, the Radical Party does not even know how many divisions it has had.... The opposition here simply suffers from the "narcissism of small distinctions": The smaller the distinction, the greater the need to emphasize it.

This swarm of opposition parties is certainly being facilitated by the government when it makes it possible for "three people to constitute a party," which gives people the impression of caviling, a fight for posts in the government, and egoism. Some voters need to see the opposition united in order to vote for it at all. Srbobran Brnakovic of the Institute for Political Studies proves this thesis of the need for at least symbolic unity of the opposition with surveys conducted during the campaign which showed that DEPOS was getting more votes than the aggregate number of supporters of the Serbian Renewal Movement, the Democratic Party of Serbia, and New Democracy.

Serbia's opposition has not had a Walesa or Havel. Vuk Draskovic, the man with the most charisma in the opposition, has never managed to become its undisputed leader. Some oppositionists have stated publicly that they are bothered by the speed of his tongue, his "talking from the heart," his inconstancy, his desire to turn all the actions of the opposition into a "one-man show." The Democrats have constantly (since May 1991, when they did not enter the Associated Serbian Democratic Opposition) been pointing to the popularity polls of politicians in which Vuk, until recently, until Borisav Jovic and Radoman Bozovic replaced him, was in last place. Although one survey showed that an opposition headed by Dobrica Cosic and Milan Panic would easily have beaten Milosevic, they did not prove to be unifiers of the opposition either. Many people did not want the former, and he wanted them even less. All of them looked to take advantage of the latter, considering him a pure amateur.

The opposition has been talking for almost two years about unity and has been going separate ways. While it talked about a unified opposition, what it became was the Associated Opposition of Serbia. While it talked about firmer ties in that association of 10 parties, it came down to the Associated Serbian Democratic Opposition—consisting of three parties—which almost never really existed. The creation of DEPOS broke up the Democratic Party. Whenever it has spoken about its own unity, the opposition has always shot itself in the foot, and quite often the self-inflicted wound has been serious.

Has the opposition become aware that "the government loves to hear talk about unity of the opposition, because such talk always results in an increase in the number of parties on the opposition scene" (Kostunica), so that this time it has put an end to that talk relatively quickly? Or has that talk become so boring that no one any longer gets excited even by the heavy words exchanged by people in DEPOS, nor even by the failure of one member of Kostunica's party to appear at the cocktail party at the conclusion of the SPO convention? Or does the opposition have a greater interest in talking about the coalition of the Radicals and Socialists?

NIN Editorial Staff on Serbian TV Attacks

93BA0858A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 pp 22-23

[Editorial by NIN collegium: "Maul for Political Use"]

[Text] On Friday, 19 March, a letter said to have been written by a group of NIN journalists and addressed to all media organizations suddenly began to be read on Belgrade TV's second news program. The camera stayed the whole time on the face of the announcer, whose reading was beyond reproach, with stage pauses to emphasize sentences which might have been a maul for the political "murder" of the editors of NIN.

Here is what she read:

A letter addressed by a group of NIN journalists to all Belgrade media reads as follows: We are giving notice that the editorial conception and method of the management of NIN is no longer tenable and have brought this

prestigious news magazine to the verge of final ruin. Since March 1991, when a group of putschists took over NIN, cynically referring to this as "liberation," the paper has been on the skids of a renewed uniformity of thought and Broz' original vision of the position of the Serbian people and state. The trampling of the Serbian flag on the cover of that issue denoted the essence of the beginning of the present end of NIN.

In the meantime, the Serbian people on both banks of the Drina have been set at odds with one another in the basest way through editorials and a series of articles, with curses and news stories. At a time when the Ustashi are murdering a television crew from Russia, massacring a television crew from Sabac, NIN's special correspondent goes to Zagreb by miraculous routes, and writes with ease from there and on the spot that he is just then watching aircraft of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] bomb Banski Dvori. As evidence, he includes his photograph with members of the ZNG [National Guard Corps] on Jelacic Square. Not a single Croatian newspaper wrote that kind of account on behalf of a lie.

At the same time, another staff member, taken over from Alija Izetbegovic's Muslim GLASNIK, wrote in NIN that "he saw the butchers of Sarajevo's children walking peacefully through Belgrade." The truth has been liberated from NIN, and the newspaper liberated from its readers. Losses in the amount of the value of a one-bedroom apartment in Belgrade for each issue of NIN represent a business disaster worse than the moral erosion and professional degradation of NIN.

The determined protests of readers who have brought NIN to the director of Politika, demanding that their money be refunded, have deprived us of the right to remain silent, the letter of the group of NIN journalists concludes.

The *Matica Srpska Dictionary* defines group as collection, assemblage, crowd. One expected at the end the reading of the names of seven, eight, 11, or 15 members of the editorial staff, no matter how many, but the names were indispensable if the criticism of the work of the editors was to be taken seriously. Not a single name was read. We have thus been returned to the communism we had forgotten, in which the "conscious forces" usually signed themselves as a "group of embittered citizens," "a group of young workers," "a group of disappointed students," consistently without the names of individuals, because under communism the individual is no one and the group is everything. That word was a code, and people who knew the language of public condemnation knew that the "group" was always made up of one person, the one who said everything the government wanted to hear. One or two.

But omission of the names might have been an inadvertent error of the editors of the news program. The letter was addressed to all the media, so it was expected that the names would appear on Saturday in at least a few newspapers.

Unfortunately, not a single editorial office published that letter, and at that point it was already clear that we were really dealing with a phantom group. That is why the NIN editorial staff sent to TV Belgrade the following letter:

To the CHIEF EDITOR OF THE NEWS PROGRAM OF TV BELGRADE

To the EDITOR OF THE EVENING NEWS PROGRAM

Last night, on the second evening news program, a letter was read which was full of lies about NIN. It was allegedly signed by a group of NIN journalists.

Just as in the worst times of witch-hunts and persecution of freedoms, the sender is anonymous; no one knows how many members are in the group and no one knows their names.

This attack on the decency and blow to the profit of NIN states among other things that "certain" angry readers, supposedly dissatisfied with NIN, have returned copies of the magazine to the director of Politika. The NIN management has good relations with the management of Politika and for certain would have been aware of that fact if it had not been invented, just as all the rest in this anonymous submittal was fabricated.

The writers of the anonymous missive say that NIN is setting at odds the Serbs on either side of the Drina. They certainly have not been reading NIN, because if they had read it, they would have to note that many of the most prestigious Serbs (from both sides of the Drina), many of the highest representatives of civil and military authorities of the Serbian states, are interviewed in NIN. Why, we ask, would they make statements in a newspaper which is setting them at odds?

Gentlemen, editors of TV Belgrade, I know only two journalists of all those with whom I work and have worked who care as little for logic and the facts as the group of journalists whose letter you read. But because two cannot make a group, I remain confused in the face of the foreboding that people of such intentions and abilities have multiplied in the profession that is yours and mine.

I hope that I do not need to refer to the law in requesting that today, on Saturday, 20 March, on the second news program you read this response in its entirety and read the names of the members of that phantom group. I am convinced that you will do this, thereby dispelling the very thought that TV Belgrade can become a public address system for intriguers.

With distinct respect,

Milo Gligorijevic, NIN editor in chief

On the second news program on 20 March, the letter from the editor in chief of NIN was first referred to as the reaction of the editorial staff and then the editors.

Abridged, cut to pieces, ruined by unnecessary editing (or reading mistakes), the letter was deprived of its impact and almost of meaning.

Here is how one sentence was altered in the version prepared by the editors of the news program:

In the course of the attack on the dignity and on the blow to the profit of NIN, it states among other things that certain angry readers, supposedly dissatisfied with NIN, have been returning copies of the magazine to the director of Politika.

A confused viewer of the news program might and probably would have to assume that this item about returning copies of NIN to the director of Politika is being reported by the editor in chief of NIN himself, not members of the group whose names have remained unknown. But what must have amazed the viewer of the second television program of TV Belgrade the most came at the end of the reading. The end of the letter was omitted, but the demand to publish the names of the "group" was read. Instead of the names, the viewers got an advertisement, and thus the signatories remained unknown right up until Monday, up until the meeting of the activ of NIN journalists, which was called because of an appearance of Stefan Grubac on the Third Channel of TV Novi Sad (in which the present editors of NIN are condemned through a blend of fabrications and political criticism) and because of his increasingly frequent "analyses" of the ethnic composition of NIN's staff members and authors. At that time, Stefan Grubac, Rajko Djurdjevic, and Milan Damnjanovic made public for the first time that they are the authors of the letter of the "group of NIN journalists" which was read on Friday, 19 March, on the second news program of TV Belgrade.

In a lengthy and unpleasant discussion, they did not prove a single accusation.

Their assertion that the editors "trampled on the Serbian flag" has remained unclear and cloudy, but it did become clear that they consider debate and the public confrontation of opinions concerning Serbian affairs to be "setting the people at odds."

It was their fabrication that a NIN reporter wrote "that he was watching aircraft of the JNA bomb Banski Dvori."

They invented his photograph with members of the ZNG.

The other staff member of NIN taken over from Alija Izetbegovic's MUSLIMANSKI GLASNIK was their invention. Among the other authors who write in NIN occasionally and on a fee basis is a woman journalist who was on the staff of GLASNIK before the war in Bosnia, when GLASNIK was not what it is now, and she has published one single interview. In the mayhem of war, just like other journalists who were Serbs, she had to leave Sarajevo under Muslim coercion. She became a refugee, she arrived in Belgrade with her child, and she began to earn her living as a free-lance journalist. So that is what that "takeover" amounted to.

Finally, the members of the "group" also invented NIN's business disaster. The management of Politika makes no secret of the fact that, as it develops the sales of other products, it is knowingly losing on most of its publications, so that in a time of an unprecedented decline of buying power it might help readers and help the newspapers to survive and remain on the market even under the gloomiest conditions. It was publicly stated some 10 days ago that the organization as a whole loses more than 3,000 dinars on every copy of its daily newspapers. This is a fact which Messrs. Grubac, Djurdjevic, and Damnjanovic might well have known. What was important to them, however, was to prove only one thing: NIN is losing because of its character, not because the people are impoverished.

The activ of NIN journalists adopted a press release which we quote:

In connection with the renewed attacks on the editing and business performance of NIN, which in recent days, making free use of RTS's [Radio-TV Serbia's] frequencies and programs, have been carried out by certain journalists employed on our magazine, representing themselves as a "group," and also in connection with their ethnic tabulation of members of the editorial staff, the activ of NIN journalists held a meeting on 22 March 1993 in which it resolved as follows:

1. NIN journalists reject with disgust the attempts of certain fellow journalists to judge the professional fitness of journalists and collaborators of NIN using "racial and ethnic" criteria.

2. NIN journalists also reject the untrue accusations of the anonymous "group" which on Friday, 19 March 1993, TV Belgrade broadcast on its second news program and in which none of the assertions squares with the facts.

3. NIN journalists appeal to their fellow journalists at TV Belgrade, in the name of integrity of the profession and personal honesty, to oppose in the future manipulations of this kind by their editors, who were able to see barely three signatories of falsified accusations as a "group," while at the same time the letter from NIN's editor in chief, which responded with arguments to those insinuations, was cut up and twisted.

4. NIN journalists say that for two years now they have been exposed to dangerous witch-hunts by those same witch-hunters and from those same pulpits, and they demand that the management of the Politika organization finally take steps within the limits of legal powers and protect the business interests and professional interests of NIN by making it impossible for these attacks to continue to come from within, from the editorial staff and the parent organization.

All of this is logically in the interest of both the management and all employees in the Politika NIP [Newspaper Publishing Enterprise] in view of the announced transformation of the ownership of the parent organization, which was in fact the occasion for this aggression to be carried out against NIN at this moment.

On behalf of the activ of NIN journalists,

Nikola Djordjevic, chairman

The press release of the activ of NIN journalists was sent to Belgrade TV. It did not broadcast it, presumably because it intends to adopt a new rule in journalism: Do not let the other side by heard! Instead of the press release of the activ of NIN journalists, on Monday, 23 March, it broadcast a new letter from Stefan Grubac, Rajko Djurdjevic, and Milan Damnjanovic. They complained that the editor in chief of NIN had organized a trial and that they were threatened with persecution. The quick-witted reader must certainly have noticed that the consequences of the "persecution" are unusual: You attack the firm in which you receive a salary, you besmirch it with unproven accusations, and the doors of government television are opened wide to you for doing so. But these are new times and new customs.

Finally, the reader should also know this: There are now 33 journalists on NIN's payroll. The other employees are the business secretary, technical secretaries, and typists. In all, 38 people. The "group" whose existence was made public by TV Belgrade has three members. All the others stand against them with their reasons.

And that is the end of this story on a painful subject.

NIN collegium

Family-Owned Factories in Southern Serbia

93BA0855A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 93 p 11

[Article by V. Komljenovic and M. Pesic: "Family Factories Fighting Imports"]

[Text] Vranje, 25 Mar—As part of its celebration of its 30 years of existence and steady climb, the holding company Simpo of Vranje is commencing its new development strategy. The 10 contracts on family factories signed today are only a part of what has already been projected and foreseen in this new expansion, but the capitalist system of business, without which one cannot join the company of the advanced world, is also to be introduced through privatization within this company and within this entire region. The transformation of Simpo's ownership actually does not involve destroying what exists, but of adding to it with the participation of more and more private capital, which will strengthen the company's foundations and make it still more efficient and competitive on the market.

Pointing to the exceptional undertakings over the last three decades as this company has matured to become now one of the leading furniture manufacturers in Europe, Milan Nikolic, Simpo general director, emphasized that not even under these difficult conditions of the blockade has Simpo backed off from its main objective—every year a larger physical volume of output and larger profit. Thus, in this anniversary year production is to be increased 30 percent with the same plant capacity, and total sales of $630 million will be twice what they were last year.

"Unusual energy, creativity, vision, and ingenuity have been brought together in one man. That is our president, Dragan Tomic, who sold us the idea of family factories some four years ago, and we are starting to implement it at the right time," Nikolic said.

Dragan Tomic, who has headed Simpo for 26 years now and whose name is associated with all the successes of this company, which long ago grew beyond the limits of Yugoslavia, said during today's ceremonies in Vranje that for him this is the most important moment in the new development orientation of Simpo, Vranje, Serbia, and the entire country. The time and the conditions, he said, do not allow the building of giants, and small family factories are our future. This, incidentally, is not something we thought up, all the countries which are economically powerful today have been developing in this fashion.

Srbislava Manic of Bujanovac, who owns the private firm Manifild, said at the signing of today's contract on the production of hide floor coverings, in which Simpo is investing 250,000 German marks [DM], that she is happy to be joining the Simpo family, which has brought Europe to the south of Serbia.

The example of the staples factory, one would say, best confirms the benefit from future minifactories to make what would seem to be trifles that have so far been purchased all over the world. Every month, Simpo consumes 100 million different types of fasteners, paying DM100,000 for them, that is, DM1.2 million a year. From now on, the staples will be produced by the private firm Tron of Vranje, owned by Miodrag Stankovic, who has eight workers in addition to himself. Simpo will thus be freed of tying up working capital in inventories, the cost of ordering and shipping, the commitment of foreign exchange, not to mention the blockade. On the other hand, the private firm Tron will have a certain customer, which is the most important segment of any production operation.

Simpo's initiative concerning family factories will not remain an isolated case in Vranje. We were given confirmation of this today by the top people at Jumko and Kostana, who are taking up Dragan Tomic's idea of forming a separate consortium for that effort in this industrial center.

Among the 10 private factories which are new members of the powerful Simpo Company, there are also plants for the production of elastic belts, electric welding

machines, slipcovers, bath mats, molded plastic components, small leather clothing accessories, matches, and stickers.

Meanwhile, there will be some 50 of them this year with Simpo's share in their equipment amounting to between $5 and $7 million. More than 300 candidates from within the country and abroad are competing for these new projects of the Vranje Company.

Macedonia

Interview With Kiro Gligorov

NC1404210293 Athens ELEVTHEROTIPIA in Greek 14 Apr 93 pp 4, 5

[Report on an interview with Kiro Gligorov, president of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, by ELEVTHEROTIPIA correspondent Takis Dhiamantis and an undentified MESIMVRINI correspondend in Skopje; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Dhiamantis] Mr. President, three or four times last Saturday [10 April] you stated publicly that you will make every effort to overcome problems with Greece. What do you mean by these efforts?

[Gligorov] That both sides must show goodwill and recognize reality. Neither side must ask for anything that will put down or offend the other nation. We must realize that there are no obstacles to reaching an agreement on the border issues and on all substantive issues. We must pay particular attention to these issues and not to those that stem from sensitivities or that have another meaning. I support such behavior, and in such an atmosphere there are no issues on which we cannot agree.

[Dhiamantis] You said, however, that a period of difficult negotiations would begin on Monday [12 April]... [ellipsis as published]

[Gligorov] If the current atmosphere and sentimentality did not exist, then I would not call it difficult. All of us—and I appeal to you, too—must do everything possible so that this sentimental atmosphere fades away. As free people we must not become slaves to sentimentality, but negotiate reasonably. In this way we can easily reach an agreement. [passage omitted]

If we eliminate all this and focus on reason and the people's interests, then an agreement is very near. If we insist on who is the winner and who is the loser, whose history is great and whose is insignificant, then I can see that in one or two hundred years, each of our nations will remain bound in its own truth.

Usually in such cases, we are try to find out who is opposing and doubting us, and we clash instead of cooperating. We will enter the 21st century soon, and I do not understand why the new generation must suffer instead of living better because of situations that happened two or three thousands years ago. These young people are not responsible for our own sentiments.

Discussing Skopje's claim about a Macedonian minority in Greece, Gligorov said: "If there is no minority, it cannot be technically created. Why worry about something like this when Greece is an EC member state? We want to become EC members, and we have to respect human rights. If there is a minority, before anything else it is Greece's problem. If there isn't, then there is no problem."

Asked about a statement he made two weeks ago on the revision of the Bucharest Treaty, Gligorov said: "There is no threat to the borders or territorial claims. I am aware that Greece does not have territorial designs on Macedonia, and I can assure you that neither do we. I mentioned Bucharest as a historical event. Besides, it does not mean that agreements that have been signed cannot change. This state has been created practically and substantively, not legally or after an agreement. In reality, this agreement has already been revised because we exist as a separate state, and not because we deny the treaty and we want to change it."

Another issue is the claim of Skopje officials that various countries—including EC member states—will soon begin recognizing the new state unilaterally. President Gligorov said: "I do not know what each country will do, but they each have their own sovereign rights." Referring to the name with which his country will be recognized, Gligorov said: "The temporary name the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was adopted exclusively for internal UN use."

Gligorov added: "It is completely unreasonable to be welcomed at the United Nations with the support of more than 60 countries—including Greece—and then to have our recognition delayed. This does not correspond to the behavior that EC and other states must show toward a peaceful country that stopped the war from spreading through the stance it adopted.

I have repeatedly said that this war would have reached your own borders. Let us only think of the wave of refugees. Greece may not have gotten involved because of NATO, but 1 million refugees from Kosovo, Macedonia, and Albania would create a Balkan boiler that could threaten everyone."

Following the recent developments in the former Yugoslavia, the danger of war spreading has intensified. This makes President Gligorov turn to NATO, saying: "The danger of the war spreading is smaller today than it was yesterday because Macedonia is now a UN member. However, from the moment that war begins raging in the north and the Kosovo problems have not been solved, then there are dangers not only for us, but for Greece as well.

A clash in Kosovo or the war spreading in the north would mean the involvement of many countries. Who

would want something like this? I believe our common interest is not to reach that point. Naturally, just like you, we want to be under collective protection. Therefore, why shouldn't we join NATO?"

[Dhiamantis] Mr. President, you have expressed the view that your country should become an EC member. Are you optimistic that relations with Greece will improve, because you will certainly need Greece's consent regarding the Community.

[Gligorov] I do not see how Greece can benefit if we do not join the European Community. Besides, we are not going to do it tomorrow, even though this is unimportant. The important thing is that we have a European orientation, something that benefits Greece, too. It means that its first neighbor is pursuing the same goals. This way we are becoming an extension of Greece in its mission to have influence in the Balkans. We are becoming the European idea and not the Balkan past, which is what we see north of our country..."

[Dhiamantis] You did not tell me whether you are optimistic about the negotiations with Greece.

[Gligorov] Neither you nor we have any other choice. Therefore, it is not an issue of optimism or pessimism. It is the clear reality. No one can change the land that we will live on. When all the issues on the agenda are removed, then our people will see that we have the same religion and common traditions. Why should we have any situation other than cooperation and friendship?"

Kosovo

U.S. Delegation Talks With Party Leaders

AU1604075093 Tirana ATA in English 1039 GMT 15 Apr 93

[Text] Tirana, April 15 (ATA)—During its stay in Kosova, the delegation of the U.S. Congress made up of the Republican congressmen Susan Molinari, Eliot Engel, Peter King, and Bill Paxon had many meetings and talks with representatives of political parties and humanitarian associations of Kosova. The delegation visited Mitrovice, too.

The representatives of the U.S. Congress in Prishtina also met with Lazer Krasniqi, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party of Kosova. They learned of the viewpoints of this party on the situation in Kosova and the solution to the question of Kosova. Later on, the U.S. delegation met with representatives of the Humanitarian Association "Mother Teresa." On this occasion they talked on the possibility of American benevolent and humanitarian associations and institutions to send aid for the poor people of Kosova. The delegation visited in Prishtina the private object of the secondary economic school where they saw the conditions where Albanian pupils are learning.

The U.S. delegation gave an official luncheon for the representatives of the CSCE mission in Prishtina, of the International Red Cross, and the Senior Commissariat for Refugees. The representatives of these international institutions acquainted the U.S. delegation with the situation in Kosova. While having luncheon, two imprisoned Frenchmen of the French Humanitarian Association "Equilibre" came. They were just released owing to the pressure by international institutions, the French Embassy in Belgrade and to the direct commitment of the U.S. congressmen.

During the visit in Mitrovice, the delegation visited a private clinic in Tavnic and met with leaders of parties and humanitarian association of Mitrovice. At the end of this visit, the congressman Eliot Engel said he was very much concerned of what he had seen for two days in Kosova and that he was going to present it to the U.S. Congress and will talk on the situation to President Clinton himself in order to take other measures to improve the situation in Kosova.

After its return to Prishtina, the U.S. delegation had a short meeting in the Writers' Association of Kosova.